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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 April 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF TAXLESS SOCIALIST SOCIETY HAILED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albania 2 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Shaban Sinani: "No Fees or Taxes of Any Type"]

[Excerpts] For almost 14 years there have been no taxes or fees levied on the people in socialist Albania. For the first time since the Commune of Paris it is being proven that taxes and fees are not essential for supporting the state, its administration and its other aspects.

The socialist state is not controlled by a class which is in the minority and which lives on the back of the masses; it is not a parasite or an exploiter; it does not aim for the enrichment of a class or stratum through the sweat of the workers. Through taxes, capitalism robbed the proletariat and took away its surplus value. Through taxes, the socialist state, as soon as the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, deals a class blow to the former exploiting classes and eases the burden of the working masses. Then, the people, who become what is called the state administration, are men of the people and not tools of a class which is supported by the multi-level class oppression of the majority. Above all, socialist development brings that unparalleled unity of material and social interests which Comrade Enver [Hoxha] described in his speech to the voters last November.

The question arises: "Why was the tax system kept until 1969?" The facts show that those few taxes which were collected from the working masses did not, in their aim and content, resemble the taxes collected under the capitalist-revisionist system. For the broad masses of workers, these were very modest taxes, which were reduced over the years. For example: in 1955, the taxes and fees accounted for 8 percent of the revenue in the state budget while in 1967, two years before they were eliminated, they accounted for only 0.9 percent. For as long as they existed, the taxes were used to eliminate certain capitalist elements, to limit private ownership and for the entire process of building socialism. The taxes were never insurmountable obligations for the people who had political power in their hands. They represented a negligible part of the family income. The day by day reduction of the taxes was an illustration of the victories which had been achieved in the building of socialism, which resulted in the creation of the proper economic and social conditions for their complete elimination. Thus, after collectivization, when socialist social ownership became the only form of ownership, their activity ceased.

It is not hard to prove that the taxes on the population, as long as they were operative, did not result in any material hardships. This fact is proven by their insignificant share in the income of the workers and the outlays of the state for the purpose of satisfying a number of social needs of the population, free of charge. While the annual taxes per person amounted to 17 leks, the state spent 170 leks each year for education per person--10 times as much as the taxes, not including the rest of the social services received in the same manner.

The removal of the system of taxes and fees, as the facts prove, serves in the best way possible the aim stated by the party that "the income of workers be completely free of all mutilation", as the 6 November decision stated. This increase in the real incomes of workers is proven by the doubling of the number of depositors in savings and social securities banks and the increase in the amount of money deposited in each savings account. In 1960 there were 235,000 deposits, of 505 leks each, while in 1970, the number of accounts doubled compared to 1960 and the average amount of deposit was 571 leks. In recent years, one out of every three people has a savings account. This high level of socialist well-being has been achieved with an elimination of all types of taxes. This happens only in our socialist system.

CSO: 2100/37

KORCAK ON 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF FEBRUARY 1948

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 8, 23 Feb 83 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech Socialist Republic]

[Text] "Forward, forward. Not one step back"! It is no accident that specifically this slogan of February 1948 does not belong only to the past, but is also a living part of the present and will pass on into the awareness of future generations as well. It succinctly expresses the atmosphere of that time, the essence of the struggle then waged, and the meaning of its heritage. Proving the importance of slogans in politics, this action-program appeal summed up the content of the CPCZ's efforts and reflected truly and accurately the hopes and aspirations of the working people in the towns and villages. The revolutionary requirement of going ahead and not retreating symbolizes the course and results of those February days. Thanks primarily to the fact that the Communist Party's program became the cause of the widest working strata, the reaction's plan--as Klement Gottwald said shortly afterwards--failed and collapsed "like a house of cards, whereas our plan, which was also the plan of our people, triumphed so clearly and gloriously as few just causes ever have. Why was this so, and not otherwise? Because the plan and intentions of the reaction were in an insignificant minority, the plan of those who are looking back and want to stop the course of history, the development of progress, democracy and socialism."

It is now 35 years that we are associating the name of the second month in the year with a historical event of exceptional domestic and international impact. February 1948 altered the fate and life goals of millions of people. Thanks to this milestone in our recent history, already the second generation is being born and growing up under new, socialist conditions. Under the influence of the inexorable flow of time and of the laws of life, the number of persons is diminishing for whom the February victory was an unforgettable experience. The revolutionary heritage of that time and the guarding and development of its traditions, however, remain a timely call to struggle. We are not interested in a mechanical and perfunctory comparison of the incomparable. But it would likewise be a mistake to forget the essential that links the past and the present. We are living also now in a class-divided world. Even today we cannot merely wish for socialism; it is necessary to work for the realization of its objectives. We must not forget that the road forward, the road of social progress, is a constant struggle. It is of permanent validity that it is not enough to be a revolutionary merely at the time of open encounter. Revolutionariness in our time requires first of all the Communist Party and socialist society persevere in the performance of their everyday, minor and seemingly commonplace work.

## What Was at Stake

Thirty-five years ago, on 21 February 1948, Klement Gottwald addressed the people on Staromestske Square and appealed for vigilance, readiness and unanimity. Millions of honest citizens heard and heeded the decisive voice of the Communist Party. The course of events proved that the masses understood this calm, yet firm and uncompromising, voice that expressed the determination, prudence and courage of the working people.

Together with the participants of those historical moments, I fondly recall those days and hours spent among the working collective of Zbrojovka [Munitions Works] in Brno. Nothing will make me forget how this appeal of the Communist Party mobilized us at that time, how it strengthened our belief in the victory of the workers' cause and in the justice of our struggle. I am able to confirm on the basis of my own personal experience that the party leadership was able to choose the right and understandable words at the right time. It strengthened our confidence that was born of difficult class struggles, proven in many tests and gained at the price of so many sacrifices. It warned us against the enemy and aroused us action worthy of the great moment. It called us to fight against the old world and was simultaneously the harbinger of the socialist age.

Our generation was unable to understand everything at that time. But one thing was clear to us: it was our national and international class duty to stand on the socialist side of the barricade, to respond to the reaction's diversive tactics and coup attempts uncompromisingly in the language of revolution, a revolution of strong preparedness and determination to prevent any reactionary coup, to respond with a decisive counterattack against antistate conspirators.

The Communist Party's policy, which expressed the most immediate interests of all working strata, became the policy of the revived National Front; it gained victory gloriously and quickly. The reaction lost shamefully, without being able to mount any serious resistance. The arrogant and conceited politicians turned overnight into generals without any troops. This was a fact that not even our opponents were able to deny. But under no circumstances would it be correct to regard the class struggle in February of 1948 a simple matter that had been won in advance. The enemies of socialism, too, were preparing for a day of reckoning and expected a solution to the question of who was the boss. They were not entirely without some chance of success, and they had certain "trump cards" in their tactics. And they were not alone. They had behind them the by no means small political, economic and military power of imperialism, and they relied on experienced foreign advisors. And although in the end nothing came of their conceptions, this was not merely proof of their impotence; it was first of all an expression of the fact that truth and the future were on our side.

As the vanguard of the working class and the defender of, and spokesman for, its basic and long-term interests, the Czechoslovak Communist Party in those February days of 1948 was able to be abreast of the times also because it successfully recognized in due time the true intentions of the reactionary politicians and could publicly unmask and pillory them. It did not let itself be outflanked and surprised; it prepared itself in time for the coming encounter, specifically through a carefully planned struggle to gain the support of the widest masses and to isolate the reactionary forces. This is evident also from the foresighted words of Klement Gottwald at the November 1947 session of the CPCZ Central

Committee that was devoted to an analysis of the domestic reaction's intentions: "In cooperation with the foreign reaction, it wants to exploit the food-supply situation's difficulties to undermine the people's democratic regime. The reaction that has spread everywhere will try to hamstring even more the activity of the government, parliament and other popular organs, so as to completely incapacitate the government and parliament at the given moment. It would like to create a cabinet crisis at a convenient time and to attempt the formation of a government of civil servants. In a political sense, such a step would have to be regarded as an attempted reactionary coup, an attempted reactionary state coup. This would require a suitable response, a crushing one for the reaction. A repetition of 1920, with Tusar and Cerny, would be ideal for the reaction. But now it is 1947. And an attempt to replay 1920 would be a deadly risk for the reaction. But a reaction driven into a corner is capable of taking this risk, especially if it is ordered to do so from abroad. Therefore we must be vigilant."

The reactionary forces believed they could reverse the course of history by splitting the unity of the people. Already then they saw their great chance in this dirty game with democracy, freedom and human rights. But they miscalculated. Their disruptive politics failed specifically against the unity of the people, supported by the strength and authority of the CPCZ. The workers of the towns and villages took the party's words to heart: "Be united and determined, and your just cause will win." With their help, it did indeed win. Not only then, but once and for all. Since then, the will of the people has become law in our country. To implement this principle in everyday practice is the purpose of the work of the entire Czechoslovak Communist Party and of all organs of our socialist state.

#### Struggle for the Lessons of February

Since Victorious February we have undergone many tests, and we have accomplished much that is important. In many respects the world is different than then, and important changes have occurred also in other countries. The review of history, its inexorable judgment accurately determines the place of contemporary controversies, weighs more justly the successes or mistakes, lets the essential and basic facts emerge more clearly, relegates to the background and condemns to oblivion the secondary, partial or random matters. This is true in our case as well. But the more conspicuous is the fact that after so many revolutionary changes, in the light of a series of new experiences, it is unnecessary to add anything of significance to the lessons of February 1948, and nothing important has to be reassessed. Such cases are not all too frequent in history, or even in the history of the international working-class and communist movement. But this does not mean that attempts at a counter-February have been lacking or will not occur. There have been many attempts to revise and falsify the course and heritage of Victorious February, from the most diverse bourgeois and revisionistic standpoints; they still belong in the arsenal of the politics and ideology of all forms of anticommunism.

What does this prove? It proves first of all that in a great class struggle on a national and international scale, such as February of 1948, the laws of class struggle--the superior advantages and possibilities of socialism, and also the strategy and tactics of the defenders of capitalism--manifest themselves in their classical form. If we read the assessments of February at that time--and we

should consult these documents more often--we see how thoroughly, with how much foresight and in what principled manner the party under Klement Gottwald was able to correctly evaluate even that latest and immediate political action. Already then the party drew from it conclusions not only for its immediate needs, but for its strategic policy as well. As other fraternal parties also confirm, to this day these assessments are a constructive contribution to the treasury of the entire international communist and working-class movement.

For us Communists, looking back has never been an aim in itself, a mere recalling of the glorious past. We always combine this with the tasks of the present, looking at yesterday from the viewpoint of today's needs. The accession of further generations to the political life of our country multiplies the urgency of Klement Gottwald's idea, presented in his speech at the 4th kraj conference of the CPCZ in Prague on 28 March 1948: "It is essential that our cadres, both old and young, learn much from those eventful days. During them it was possible to directly observe the mechanism of political struggle, of struggle led by the working class, when the working class is able to gain the support of all other strata of the working people and inflict a shattering blow on reaction." The anniversary this year should serve as an incentive for us to discharge, always and everywhere, our debt in this respect.

February of 1948 again demonstrated the significance of the party's ability to draw lessons from history, and how important it is for the party to be able to utilize under the new and altered conditions also the lessons of past defeats and to convert them into an instrument of successful struggle. The CPCZ brilliantly passed this test of political maturity and tactical preparedness, not only at the center and not merely within the party itself.

After April of 1969, the new party leadership under Comrade Gustav Husak continued the revolutionary traditions of February 1948. Thanks to this, the deep crisis within the party and society was overcome fairly soon, and the attempts to stage an anti-February were foiled. Permanently valid also in this sense, the document Lessons Drawn From the Crisis Development adopted under the new conditions the valuable lesson of the February events that the reaction--numerically weak, but dangerous with its demagoguery, one up-manship, hypocrisy, plots and intrigues--will attempt to regain power by stealth once it has lost its positions. Thirty-five years ago the party, from above to down below, "did not allow itself to be misled by the fact that the reactionary architects of the cabinet crisis did not speak openly of their final objectives. It did not allow itself to be misled by their statements, reiterated from time to time, that, for example, they did not want to reprivatize, that our alliance with the Soviet Union was beyond dispute, etc. We knew that every counterrevolution concealed its final objectives and showed its cards only gradually, that what it wanted was primarily to change the balance of power in its favor, and that once it came to power it would have a free hand to carry out its counterrevolutionary plans in full" (Klement Gottwald). Likewise this experience, proven in recent years also in neighboring Poland, is for the present and must not be forgotten.

The working class, which had reasons to be dissatisfied, showed great political maturity in February. The reaction's slogan "the worse, the better" often caused difficulties in production, supply and other areas. The reaction reckoned also with these difficulties and based its demagogic promises on them. But the working class passed this great test of statesmanship and did not permit any interference with the plants, nationalization, the national committees and its



political rights. The conclusion is still valid that the political maturity of the working class is of utmost importance, something that often is overlooked in the daily rat race. The fact bore fruit that the working peasantry sided with the industrial workers at the decisive moment, and these two streams --thanks to the political, tactical and strategic skill of the Communist Party--marched side by side, and not against each other. Herein lies one of the main causes of the fact that the reaction was isolated, that the events took the course they did, and that "the lords did not even get a chance to speak."

February demonstrated also the significance of the Communist Party's leading role within the nation. This generally valid truth is again documented the most clearly in Klement Gottwald's words: "After all, the entire purpose of our struggle was to gain leadership of the people--meaning primarily the overwhelming working majority--together with their respect and acceptance as their party. We fought so that the working class would not be isolated, and that the management of the people's affairs would pass into our hands from the incompetent hands of the bourgeoisie, which on several occasions had already sold the people's inheritance. We have achieved this. Without the leading role of the Communists among the people, if the overwhelming majority of the people had not accepted us as their head, brains and leader, the bourgeoisie would not have been isolated, and there would be no Victorious February." The events of 35 years ago are to this day an illustrative and vivid example of the CPCZ's ability to integrate class, national and internationalist tasks, to combine real, pure patriotism with socialist conviction, in the interest of society's progress.

The February storm cleared the political atmosphere, removed the obstacles and opened the road ahead, toward socialism. It put an end to abusing the idea of the National Front for political wheeling and dealing and for objectives directed against the people. It put an end to appealing to the principles of the National Front by those who themselves had abandoned its program and had been excluded from it because of their inimical activity. Restoration of the National Front's original purpose and mission, and its purge were a source of the victory of the working class and working people. Therefore the revived National Front and its government became the political vehicle for the new stage of the people's democratic system.

Born in the struggle against fascism, the idea of the National Front has deep roots in the centuries-old struggles of our people for national and social liberation and ties in with the best traditions of the working-class movement. It expresses the fact that everything truly progressive, national, popular and democratic in the present stage necessarily approaches the ideas of scientific socialism and links up with Lenin's program and practice of building a new society. The policy of the National Front proved itself after May 1945, after February 1948, and also after April 1969. The present also confirms its viability. There can be no doubt that the policy of the National Front will play an irreplaceable role in our socialist political system also in the distant future.

The experience of the 1980's confirms that with every greater task there is greater need for ability to gain for these tasks the creative activity of the people, to encourage, improve and guide them in the direction most beneficial for society. Here there is ever-wider room for the activity of the National Front and all organizations belonging to it. The National Front's platform is a proven base for the citizens' participation in management and administration, for uniting their common efforts. It provides the essential conditions for the

real assertion of political rights, freedoms and the citizens' various interests. In accordance with the needs of socialism, it makes possible the development of an exchange of views, and of constructive criticism. The strength of the CPCZ, and of our state and socialist system, rests on close contact with the other political parties and social organizations within the National Front.

The unity of words and deeds has always been and will remain the basis of Communist policy. This makes our policy understandable and appealing, unites large and small collectives, helps to reconcile differences of opinion, and leads to diligent and fruitful work. It is one of the prerequisites for the unity of the party and the people. The lessons of February are still timely also in this respect. Thus the very thoroughly tested truth still applies that the party's greatest capital is the confidence of the masses. This confidence stems primarily from the fact that the party keeps its word.

Development after February 1948 also showed how necessary it was to combat in due time manifestations of self-complacency. The foresight was confirmed of the CPCZ Central Committee's standpoints, repeatedly expressed by Klement Gottwald who in March 1948 warned: "At the same time I would like to repeat that although we have every reason and right to be self-satisfied, it would be perhaps the gravest mistake we could possibly make if we let this turn our heads. Just as we kept our wits when things were not going well or were merely creaking along, our heads will not be turned even now when we have won and everything is going smoothly ahead."

#### A Part of International Class Struggle

The course and results of the February events can be understood only in the context of the entire postwar development, when two opposite class concepts sharply clashed over the postwar arrangement of conditions in Europe and the world. The Czechoslovak people, who had learned the bitter and costly lesson of Munich and of the German occupation, understood--thanks to the patient and principled policy of the party after May of 1945--what was behind the veneer of the slogans advocating a so-called third road, which was to have been a concept of building "bridges" between East and West. February ended any uncertainty also in this respect. In the words of Comrade Gustav Husak, February decided that our country would join forever the great family of nations that--following the example of the Soviet Union as the first socialist country in the world--embarked on the path to socialism. In the interest of our people and in accordance with our international solidarity, we are participating jointly with them in the great struggle for socialism, peace and social progress in the world.

Development of the world revolutionary process provides ample proof that the influence of the countries belonging to the socialist community is ever-greater and stronger on the course of world events. It has been proven that only socialism is able to solve worldwide problems in the interest of social progress and of preserving mankind's existence and life on earth. The most reactionary circles of world imperialism have been stepping up lately their aggressive policy, are striving to bury the process of detente, and are intensifying the confrontation between the forces of war and the forces of peace. To promote their policy, they are exploiting also the problems that arise along the path of building socialism.

During the past 35 years, Prague has repeatedly played host to representatives of the peace movement. Messages of peace have been disseminated many times from our capital. Most recently, the Policy Declaration of the Warsaw Pact countries, which again expressed the conviction that the forces of peace were stronger than the forces of war, and that everything depended on the unity of the forces of peace and on the purposefulness of their actions. The World Rally for Peace and Life, against nuclear war, which will be held in Prague in June, will unquestionably contribute to this cause.

We are demonstrating in our country our loyalty to the heritage of Victorious February by actively fulfilling the idea that socialism and peace, and the building and defense of our socialist fatherland are united. Today, just as 35 years ago, the most reactionary circles are risking the devastations of war in behalf of their predatory interests. Today, more than ever before, their dangerous plans must be foiled, and conditions must be created for the happy and content life of the present and future generations.

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CSO: 2400/194

INDRA'S SPEECH ON FEBRUARY COUP ANNIVERSARY

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 8, 23 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Speech by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly: "Guard and Develop the Heritage of Great February"]

[Text] The attribute "historical" apply deservedly only to events that are indelibly inscribed in history, have influenced its course and offer lessons that are permanently valid. We rightly include in this category the events that culminated in the last days of February, 31 years ago.

And the events did indeed culminate! For it would be in conflict with the facts and with the Marxist assessment of history if we were to limit the struggle "to show who is the boss," and the victory of the working class and working people, merely to those six days, albeit very exciting ones because the final decision was made then. The coup through an attempt to cause a cabinet crisis was only the last nail that the reaction drove into its own coffin. But it had been preparing its own infamous funeral for nearly three years, through its policy of sabotaging the Kosice Government Program, by underestimating the Communist Party, not knowing the mood of the people, and relying unrealistically on its imperialist friends. The decision of the people to defend the results of the people's democratic revolution, not to allow a return of the prewar conditions, and to establish the political power of the working class, stemmed from the bitter experience of the pre-Munich republic.

The working class and working people, of course, were able to assert their will only thanks to the policy of the CPCZ and its organizing role. Already the very existence of the Communist Party was of great importance (let us recall the events of 1920!), but only if its policy was sound, and if it set suitable strategic objectives and chose effective tactics. (We know also of communist parties that do not give the working class a revolutionary perspective and fail to fulfill their revolutionary mission in many respects.) In spite of the heavy losses it suffered during the German occupation, the CPCZ proved that it was capable of its tasks and was the political leader of the working class and of the people. Throughout its entire existence and especially after its 5th part congress, the CPCZ pursued its final objective: a socialist revolution that would overthrow the political power of the bourgeoisie. And it also chose effective tactics in its timing and mode of attaining this objective. (Reactionary politicians realized too late that their coup was grist for our mill, and that their bargaining in the corridor had maneuvered them into an insurmountable conflict with the aspirations of the workers.)

The party's skill manifested itself in the party's ability to master the generally applicable laws of socialist revolution and to apply them in the given situation, taking fully into consideration the specific peculiarities in Czechoslovakia. We know from experience that revolution can neither be exported nor imported (whereas export and import are typical of counterrevolution). Revolution must grow and mature from the conditions in the given country, for its outcome is predetermined by the corresponding objective and subjective conditions. Despite all its efforts, enemy propaganda has been unable to prove that the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia bore the imprint of a "command from the outside," that someone had forced on us this or that "model" of the dictatorship of the proletariat. February was our revolution, exclusively the affair of the Czechoslovak people who swept away the reaction and consciously chose the path to socialism. In all modesty we are able to say that in this sense the Czechoslovak experience is a contribution to the theory and practice of the international communist and working-class movement.

The party demonstrated its ability to lead the working class, to increase its role in society, and to gain allies for the decisive encounter. The party rejected "radical" impatience, did not anticipate events and did not become estranged from the people. Instead, it gave the people an opportunity to multiply, through the party's 30-year experience, the people's active participation in unfolding the people's democratic revolution, to compare the policies of the Communists and of their opponents, and to recognize in detail the reaction's intentions and its true form. This was exceptionally important in Czechoslovakia in particular. For here the influence of Social Democratic reformism unquestionably survived, and also ingrained bourgeois parliamentary traditions played a certain role. (Although these traditions were always extremely exaggerated, because bourgeois parliamentarism had existed merely for 20 years, and it cannot be claimed at all that it had proven successful!) It was necessary to seek allies for the working class in full awareness of the fact that within the population there were relatively strong strata of the petite bourgeoisie, or people inclined toward it. The party was able to do this through its wise agricultural policy, sensitive attitude to the intelligentsia, and its class concept of the widest National Front. The unity of the people formed in this manner triumphed and was an inaccessible barrier for the reaction.

Important domestic political events in any country do not take place in a vacuum, and they cannot be isolated artificially from the rest of the world. The leadership of the CPCZ, too, monitored the international situation very carefully. The tricks of the imperialist countries could not be underestimated, the less so because their actions were motivated by rage about their political losses: in Yalta and Potsdam they had been forced to respect the Soviet Union's growing influence; they had successively lost Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Poland; the progressive forces in the so-called Eastern Zone of Germany were gaining ground; the colonial empires were beginning to disintegrate; and now also Czechoslovakia . . .! They assumed the role of sponsors of the Czech and Slovak reaction, prompted it to make haste, and interfered in our affairs in every proven way. But the grapes on this occasion were too high. World opinion did not conceal its empathy for the Soviet Union and admired it as the power that merited a decisive share of the credit for nazi Germany's defeat. The imperialists were unable to disregard the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of alliance that was our strong shield. The Czechoslovak reaction miscalculated what would happen, and the international situation likewise did not favor its coup.

All the circumstances enabled our party to aim for the peaceful growth of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. "Peaceful" in this case, of course, did not mean without struggle. Fierce struggle had to be waged for the unfolding of the revolution, for each progressive action. For lined up against the people was a strong and experienced opponent. The reaction's representatives were the masters of demagoguery and dirty politics. They relied on their Western protectors, and also on the republic's president at that time. The reaction committed one mistake after another. But it should not be belittled even in retrospect, because thereby we would be detracting from the value of the attained popular victory. And in the same manner, the concept of "peaceful" revolution should not be interpreted to mean that we were unprepared for an armed clash that the reaction might have provoked. It was possible to establish political power of the working class in our country also because the party had liquidated the influence of the old bourgeois apparatus, converting the national committees into organs of popular power and making it impossible to misuse the army. The party deserved credit also for establishing the National Security Corps closely allied with the people. And in the decisive moment the party did not hesitate to also arm the working class. The will of the people was so obvious that the cabinet crisis provoked by the reaction could be solved constitutionally, and then parliament unanimously approved the program presented by the government of the revived National Front.

The people are the makers of history, but we as Marxists duly appreciate also the role of revolutionary leaders. In the memory of our people, the February victory will always be associated with the name of Klement Gottwald. This loyal son of the working class proved a good student of V. I. Lenin. In the decisive encounter, he made good use of his vast experience of difficult political and social struggles and of the struggle for national liberation. He proved a master of revolutionary strategy and tactics. Specifically in those February days he said, without a trace of immodesty: "Gottwald is not a Tusar." By this he meant that 1920 would not repeat itself, that the awareness of the working class had grown immensely, that in the Communist Party the people had a reliable leader, and therefore the reaction did not have any chance. Gottwald stood his ground with honor because he was a loyal servant of the people, in the best sense of this word, and he expressed the people's wishes and aspirations.

In February the people irrevocably decided that Czechoslovakia would go the socialist path. And yet, after 20 years, we experienced an attempt at a sort of anti-February, and we had to answer, to ourselves and the international revolutionary movement, the question as to why. The answer can be found, precisely and understandably, in the Lessons Drawn From the Crisis Development. Specifically because we forgot Gottwald's famous statement: "Unless we do something stupid . . . ." Specifically because the party and state leadership of that time enabled the revisionists and antisocialist forces to degrade the basic values of the socialist revolution. Specifically because we abandoned the principles that had been a prerequisite of our February victory.

Since 1969, the new leadership of the CPCZ supports February without reservation. It demonstrates by its policy that it is vigilantly guarding and creatively developing February's heritage. Repeated experience tells us that the best safeguard against mistakes is to learn and correctly apply revolutionary theory, to realistically appraise the situation and our own possibilities, and on this basis to soberly set our objectives and define the ways of achieving them. If these

principles of revolutionary practice are observed, then subjectivism, sectarianism and right revisionism cannot grow rampant and will have no hope of success, and the room within which domestic and foreign enemies are able to operate will become increasingly narrower. However, we must not regard revolutionary vigilance merely as a phrase, because the enemy will not miss any opportunity to exploit our weaknesses so as to restore capitalism.

Socialism's successful development always depends on close contact between the Communist Party and the working class and the people. This is a source of inspiration for formulating correct party policy, and it also guarantees the consistent implementation of this policy. It has been said repeatedly that the party will not tolerate even indications of any attempt to "administer" the people or to order the working class about politically. The National Front, the national committees, the social organizations and the other political parties are an instrument for developing and perfecting socialist democracy and constitute the base for intensifying the moral and political unity of the people. In them the workers' views must be reflected, and the people must be persuaded by convincing arguments to actively participate in the formulation and realization of our policy. And the more complex the situation, the more intensively we must develop in practice the policy of the National Front, and the more closely must the party be linked to the people and listen to its voice. But this does not mean at all that we must cede to erroneous views or even let ourselves be towed by backward moods. As members of the organized political vanguard of the working class, Communists can stand their ground only if they are able to speak and act in a principled manner. Their mission is to convince their fellow citizens that difficulties of any kind are, from a historical viewpoint, always only temporary. Our path has not been, is not and will not be easy. Obstacles might slow our progress, but they cannot prevent us from attaining our final objective: communism. In the period of building a developed socialist society, one of our primary revolutionary duties is concern for the economy, in the spirit of the conclusions of the party congresses, and of the resolutions adopted by the party's central committee. In February the objective was the political victory of the workers. Today the purpose of political struggle is, among other things, to overcome the manifestations of incompetence in managing the economy, the technical and organizational rigidity, routine, ingrained bad habits, slovenliness and indiscipline. The efforts to raise the efficiency of our economy, to add maximum value to all types of energy and materials, to improve the quality of production and to maintain order in wage policy are not something gray and commonplace; they are a highly political task, for the benefit of our country and its people. The success of this policy directly depends on professional knowledge and organizing ability, but no less on conscious and constant revolutionary ardor.

And could we possibly solve any task of our own without losing sight of the international political interrelations, without considering our place in the world and the security of our republic? What is happening today in any corner of our planet cannot remain indifferent to any real patriot. The economic consequences of world development are indeed not negligible, but the primary concern is the preservation of peace. Imperialism is no longer able to act as it did, say, 40 years ago or even before Great October. But it still remains a strong opponent, especially when its most aggressive representatives are in power in individual countries. They lack the ability to judge realistically, and they have no sense of responsibility toward mankind. Longing for the "good old days," they would like to restore their unlimited world hegemony. They arbitrarily designate certain parts of the world as "areas of their vital interest," and



do not spare resources to suppress by any means the revolutionary and national liberation movement. They force their neocolonial domination on young states, make no secret of their objective "to sweep communism from the face of the earth," and are playing adventurously with a huge arsenal of the most destructive weapons.

We are raising a barrier to the imperialist policy of aggression and extortion, actively--through diplomacy and also by fulfilling our economic tasks. Our people are giving the armed forces everything they need to defend the fatherland and socialism, and to meet the obligations stemming from our alliance. But most of all we are serving ourselves and mankind by actively supporting the Soviet policy of peace, the specific proposals contained in Yuriy Andropov's speech, in the Proclamation of the USSR Supreme Soviet and CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union's formation, and in the Policy Declaration issued by the Prague session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee. We are strengthened by the knowledge that the countries of the socialist community have the support of the Movement of Non-aligned Nations, and that we are marching shoulder to shoulder with the unprecedentedly growing peace forces throughout the world.

But most of all the guaranty of our security, national freedom and state independence is our treaty of alliance with the first country of socialism, the powerful Soviet Union. In February a victorious struggle was waged also over our relations with our liberator and most loyal ally. Since then our alliance has been further strengthened, our comprehensive fraternal cooperation has attained unimagined proportions, its quality is improving, it serves the interests of socialism and peace, it is mutually advantageous but primarily Czechoslovakia benefits from it. Our ability to utilize the vast experience of the Soviet Union is of immense value to us. To guard and develop the heritage of February means fulfilling day by day the spirit and letter of the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement on cooperation and mutual assistance, to systematically foster the friendship between our communist parties and between the peoples of both countries. Nobody and nothing can induce us to abandon anything from the principle that the attitude to the Soviet Union is the yardstick of socialist awareness, of dedication to the cause of peace, and of Czechoslovak patriotism.

As Klement Gottwald emphasized, the Communist Party was the architect of the working people's February victory, and the party is the guaranty that we will not deviate from the path of socialism. The party, its sound policy and its activity are the key to the solution of all our present and future tasks. The interests of our people therefore demand that we constantly strengthen the party's leading role in society, systematically increase its ability to act, and strengthen its unity on the basis of a creative and principled Marxist-Leninist policy. The party will be able to fulfill its historical mission only if and when a spirit of principled criticism and self-criticism prevails in it, if it does not become complacent over its successes and does not shirk the difficulties, if the Communists do not become proud but continue to serve the working class and the people. Every party member, and party officials in particular, must be guided by the words of Comrade Gustav Husak at the 16th party congress: "Party members must be models everywhere. We Communists do not want to differ and must not differ from the other workers in anything else than degree of responsibility, diligence and selflessness. We have joined the revolutionary vanguard of the working class in full awareness that the purpose of our lives is



to serve the people. Our only privilege is to be in the front line of the struggle for the further development of socialism, for communism." The more consistently we implement these ideas, the greater will be the party's prestige, and the more easily we will master our present and future tasks.

Many a contemporary and participant of February probably imagined that the path to socialism would be "easier." But socialist revolution is not a matter of a few days. It is a historical process, and therefore a relatively long one. We have all the prerequisites for standing our ground in it, but it is essential to realize that also the present stage of building socialism is our cause, in the same way as February was, and that the fate of the country depends on our brains and the work of our hands. Each one of us is responsible for the fulfillment of the assigned tasks, to the people, to our contemporaries, to future generations, and to the international communist and working-class movement. Let us see to it that this period of building socialism will be inscribed in history as equal in significance to Victorious February.

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CSO: 2400/186

PUBLICITY FOR BISHOP VRANA

Casaroli's Letter to Vrana

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 8, 20 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

The Vatican, 12 January 1983

The Most Reverend Josef Vrana  
Titular Bishop of Octabia  
Apostolic Administrator ad nutum Sanctae Sedis of the Olomouc Archdiocese

Most Reverend Sir:

The Supreme Pontiff was pleased to receive the beautiful medals you sent him as a token of gratitude for his designating Saints Cyril and Methodius as heavenly coprotectors of Europe together with Saint Benedict, and also for the apostolic letter in which he, by virtue of his apostolic authority, elevated the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Svaty Hostyn Hill to the rank and title of a papal minor basilica.

Know therefore that the Holy Father expresses his gratitude for your act of generosity and obedience, and simultaneously begs the most merciful God that divine grace may constantly protect you and enrich you with desirable gifts.

To this end His Holiness sends you his apostolic blessing and wishes that all priests and the laity of the metropolitan cathedral in Olomouc receive the same grace.

I take this opportunity to express my deserved thanks for the medals and accompanying letter that you also sent me. Remembering you in the Lord, I remain

A. Cardinal Casaroli, m.p.

Vrana's Tenth Anniversary

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 9, 27 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Frantisek Vymetal, DD, dean and first prelate of the Saint Wenceslaus Metropolitan Chapter, vicar general]

[Text] On 28 February 1973, Professor Josef Vrana, the Olomouc vicar capitular and metropolitan dean, was appointed by Pope Paul VI bishop of Octabia and

apostolic administrator of Olomouc. The newly appointed bishop was consecrated on 4 March 1973, in the metropolitan cathedral of Saint Wenceslaus in Olomouc. Thus Monsignor Josef Vrana, DD, became a successor of Saint Methodius, the first archbishop of Moravia.

The Second Vatican Council's constitution schema "De Ecclesia," in its chapter "On the Church Hierarchy and the Bishops in Particular," states: "Among the various services that have been performed in the church since the very beginning, the most prominent--as tradition confirms--is the task of those who have been appointed bishops on the basis of uninterrupted church succession. The bishops are the shoots from the seeds sown by the apostles. Through them apostolic tradition is proclaimed and preserved. The bishops have succeeded the apostles as shepherds of the church, and who hears them hears Christ. The Lord Jesus Christ, the supreme pontiff, is present among His faithful in the persons of the bishops" ("De Ecclesia," 20, 21).

Msgr Josef Vrana has been serving indefatigably as bishop for 10 full years, in the spirit of the mentioned continuity. With the words of Christ on his lips and His love in his heart, by His grace Bishop Vrana governs the Olomouc archdiocese, one of the largest within the Catholic Church. He is the first preacher as well as guardian of the purity of the faith. In his sermons he shares his store of faith with his audience, and draws from it the main truths in his pastoral letters. As bishop he holds full pastoral power. He shares this power when he ordains priests, and exercises it when administering the sacraments of confirmation and holy orders. He is the deputy of the Good Pastor and therefore feels responsible for those entrusted to his care: the faithful and his co-workers, the priests. With kind words he is able to inspire, praise, and alleviate sorrow. Everyone matters to him, and he visits with equal willingness every parish. Two places in the archdiocese are especially dear to him: the Hostyn cathedral of the Blessed Virgin which, thanks to him, has been elevated to the rank of a minor basilica; and Velehrad with the graves of Saint Methodius and of the Lord's servant Antonin Cyril Stojan, the archbishop of Olomouc after World War I. This archbishop had devoted his life and strength to others, and his life-long aspiration was to help them. He serves as a model for Msgr Vrana.

As stated in the constitution schema "De Ecclesia," the duties of a bishop include also care for the universal church. The Most Reverend Bishop knows its life also in other nations and continents, and is in contact with it. To be able to fulfill its mission, the church needs peace, and the preservation of peace in our time concerns the life of entire mankind. Therefore Msgr J. Vrana is on the side of peace and supports every effort to strengthen it. Peace is not only a gift, but also a result of human effort. Therefore he urges us to pray for peace and to work for its preservation.

Mention should be made also of a place in Bishop Vrana's residence, of his small private chapel. The kneeling bench in this chapel is where his thoughts mature and the decisions are made that administering the archdiocese requires.

Bishop Vrana's days are full of activity. Each day begins early in the morning, the light in his study burns late into the night, and the day ends only when everything on his desk has been done. Amazing is the vigor with which he governs the archdiocese, leads his coworkers, receives and talks with visitors.

All those who know him probably can round out with their own impressions this brief sketch of Msgr Josef Vrana, DD. Gratitude leads us to thank the Most Reverend Bishop for these 10 years of his life, all of which has been spent in the Olomouc archdiocese, and also to request: "Let us pray for our supreme pastor, Joseph, so that God may preserve him, bless his work and protect him in the further years of his life dedicated to the welfare of the church in our country and to the prosperity of our nation."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'INDEPENDENT GERMAN NATIONAL HISTORY OF GDR' EXPLAINED

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 37 No 7, 6 Feb 83 p 9

[Abridged and revised version of paper presented at GDR's Seventh Congress of Historians, East Berlin, 6-9 December 1982, by Prof Dr Walter Schmidt, director, Institute for History of German Labor Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Socialist Nation and German History." For various references to related information, see translations of an interview with Leipzig Prof Manfred Bensing and of a report on the concluding speech given at the congress by SED Politburo's Kurt Hager, both published under the heading, "Charge of Scientific Deficiency in GDR Historiography Disputed," in JPRS 82564, 30 Dec 82, No 2090 of this series, pp 87-93]

[Text] Objective historic realities as they have evolved on German soil for over a generation imperiously demand raising the question whether there still is a common German history permitting us to speak of one German national history or, else, the GDR as well as the FRG are not already evolving each their own national history. GDR historiography has been objective and sober in facing this problem and given a constructive answer with its overall portrayals of German history. That is reflected by the German History Outline as well as the 12-volume German History, the first volume of which is about to be published. Our historiography writes German history as the national history of the GDR, from the standpoint of victorious socialism on German soil. It brings out that thereby German history not only assumed a new quality but also that all previous historical development received new meaning, not known heretofore.

All those who want to make us believe that even posing the problem is merely an arbitrary and wilful invention by Marxist GDR historiography should be reminded that bourgeois historians in the FRG certainly not suspect of any sympathy with the history conception of historical materialism have long run into the very same problem. Herrmann Heimpel may have been the first one, and that already in 1954, to articulate his ideas about the possible implications of an independent historic development by two German states for the image and consciousness of history and for national thought, and he did not remain the only one. Also among professional historians in the FRG the taboo under which the topic had been has been removed more and more since the 1970's.

The Marxist line traced through German history by GDR historiography, its conception of an independent German national history of the GDR, embraces at least four basic elements.

First, it proceeds from the fact that the GDR has already had its own unique history for more than a generation. Three and a half decades may be a brief period but its content weighs all the more heavily. This history which began in 1945 with our antifascist-democratic transformation and led through establishing the foundations of socialism up to our days when the developed socialist society is being shaped, goes much farther than anything that has taken place on German soil thus far as far as history is concerned. And this is so, above all, in steep contrast to the history of the FRG, which remained within the scope of capitalism. And that calls for stating clearly: For more than one generation a common German history has no longer been in existence as far as the ultimately decisive real historic processes are concerned.

With the new content of its own GDR history, the independence of society, state and nation evolved. That has far-reaching implications of course for men's historic consciousness. In the real historic struggles for the new society and its shaping, and in safeguarding it against all external dangers, new historic experiences, values, norms and traditions emerged which in principle differ from those that people in the FRG have at their disposal. State-owned enterprises, the workers' voluntary participation in the innovator movement, the certainty not to have to worry about a job, an entirely new understanding of culture through which, for instance--to account for the activity of the Culture League--historiography by nonprofessionals also has a place, and our resolutely educating our youth for peace and for respecting the equality of all nations (to give just a few examples) necessarily change the definition of the historic place of our own history and of the individual acting in history.

In the construction of socialism and the struggle against imperialism there furthermore developed increasingly a fellowship with the other countries in the socialist community, in the framework of which the GDR took an identical course from capitalism to socialism and is currently shaping the socialist society. There is no way then to talk about a common German history. Rather, the GDR already has its own national history, separate from FRG developments.

One of the attributes of the socialist German nation in formation is the development of a socialist German national consciousness. And national consciousness always implies historical consciousness. The GDR citizens' ongoing identification with their socialist state, their socialist society and their socialist German nation therefore, among many other things, includes their knowledge of and allegiance to the historic prerequisites for this new type of German nation. For that one has to be clear about the historic ground of the GDR.

Second, from the new unique historic experiences, lines of tradition and values there are bound to arise irrefutable consequences for how one looks at all previous German history. That touches on another basic element in

the Marxist manner of tracing the line through German history. Our national history must also bring out the new view on all of German history which became possible and necessary through the triumph of real socialism on German soil. A national history of the socialist German national state, that is to say, cannot be reduced to the most recent stage in historic development. The GDR evolves out of a German history older than a millenium; it is most closely linked with the volatile historic struggles of the German people ever since it originated.

In other words: Defying all bourgeois contentions, we are facing all of German history. That holds true chronologically, territorially and socio-structurally. The GDR's national history does not start as late as with the immediate genesis of the GDR but, in terms of time, embraces German history since the formation process the German people went through. Nor can our image of German history--as some bourgeois ideologists would like to have it--be narrowed down to those German territories that have become part of the GDR but, up to the middle of our century, it includes territorially all German areas as they were united in the German Empire, and prior to that in the German League, or in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation prior to 1806. Socially as well, our image of history is not confined to the revolutionary line of working class struggle. We describe and evaluate the historic efforts of all classes and strata of the German people, always seeking to determine from it--even from the exploiter classes--what the progressive elements have been that deserve to be absorbed and preserved in the socialist German nation's store of traditions. Socialism is the inevitable outcome of a holistic process of history. It forms a unity of contradictions the dialectics of which also must be comprehended on the whole.

There are of course common features in German history as an objective process of class struggles in the German territories diversely organized politically up to the end of World War II. But the objective process of history is not identical with the image and consciousness of history. The real process of history can produce elements of a sense of fellowship only for members of a generation that were jointly involved and experienced them. That this process has no longer been taking place for a generation as between the GDR and the FRG, is general knowledge. Yet whichever image of history is being conveyed, it controls the history one has not experienced. The elaboration and dissemination of it are controlled, not by what one has nationally in common, but by class interests.

Most GDR citizens' position on history is already being determined by a new basic historic experience. Through the prism of experiences on the road of socialism, more and more citizens are acquiring their own perspective on all previous German history. They acquired the scientific image of history of socialist society, which understands socialism on German soil as a continuation of all progressive tendencies in German history. The bourgeois consciousness of history is replaced by socialist historical thought. That approaches history with questions which differ from those of most FRG citizens. He who lives in a bourgeois society receives a bourgeois image of history that conforms to that society from its educational institutions and mass media. The focus of the GDR citizens' interest in history, on the other hand, is placed on those events, processes, movements and personalities in German history

of trailblazing effect on progress at their time. Here German history is mainly examined in terms of what it contains in building blocks, elements, prerequisites for triumphant socialism here and now.

As one example of many one may here recall Marx' and Engels' studies on peasant movements, which in the end brought Karl Marx to the conclusion that the proletarian revolution should have to be supplemented by a type of second edition of the Peasants' War. Who in our society could doubt that our converting the agriculture we found into socialist agriculture marks a revolutionary progress and an inference drawn from history?

Third, any interpretation narrowly confined to the national is alien to Marxist-Leninist national historiography. Socialist national historiography always must bring out the organic connection between the national and the international as it accords with Marxism-Leninism. Looking at the history of one's own people from the point of view of historical materialism always calls for comparisons in terms of world history, for determining one's own place and role in world history. It calls for illuminating the international interdependencies, the mutual dependency and interrelations between national and world history, different as they have been of course in each period of history while nonetheless always and everywhere in effect. That applies in particular to the historic processes of the current age. I think it was a special distinction of our two last history congresses in the 1970's that they developed further the characteristic internationalist trait of our history concept. No curtailment of that will be allowed in the future. It remains one of the most important tasks of our historiography to make transparent the reciprocal influence between world historic processes and processes in German history, particularly the birth and growth of the socialist German national state as part of the worldwide revolutionary transformations in the era of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Fourth, the Marxist tracing of lines through German history lets itself be guided by that both German states come out of one German history, to be sure, yet currently not only represent opposite social orders on German soil but even carry on opposing lines of tradition. The catchphrase of a joint history often wants to cover that up in particular and suggest instead a historic continuity of German history under imperialist signature, while for all intents and purposes bracketing, or at least devaluating, the internal class struggles, as the only acceptable line of history. Therein also lies the political meaning of the thesis of an alleged "common historic-political tradition."

The GDR is fully aware of its origin in German history. It has always come to grips with the historical heritage it acquired, with its political values as with its negative reactionary features. It assumed its responsibility in German history precisely by radically destroying all social bases of reaction and for the first time leading to victory on German soil social progress, as embodied in our era by socialism. And that clearly shows: Not out of the desires of German reaction but out of the struggles of centuries by the people against that reaction, the GDR emerged. Socialism, which completes that very struggle, also finds its historic line of tradition there. Our position on German history is thus marked by carrying on everything progressive while breaking with everything reactionary in the historic past of the German people.



In the FRG, on the other hand, despite recent endeavors also to tie progressive traditions up with the bourgeois concept of history, nothing has changed in their remaining committed to the store of traditions the ruling exploiter classes established in German history. There, they neither eliminated the reactionary imperialist power relations nor did they break with the reactionary legacy in their concept and consciousness of history. Probably nowhere else does the contrast between the GDR and the FRG in their attitude toward history become as apparent as in their dealing with the tradition. A look at official school textbooks reveals that as clearly as the stubborn and, unfortunately, successful refusal to accord important educational institutions with the names of righteous German democrats like Carl von Ossietzky or Heinrich Heine. No one in the GDR certainly gets the idea, as insinuated by bourgeois ideology, that the socialist German state alone has a claim to the progressive traditions in German history. We are fully aware that progressive forces and even non-Marxist historians in the FRG are working on the interpretation, preservation and cultivation of progressive traditions. In their struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, those forces of course have recourse to the same progressive traditions to which the socialist GDR is committed. This community of traditions becomes most apparent in the revolutionary labor movement.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BISMARCK REVALUATION SEEN IN GDR HISTORIOGRAPHY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 10, 7 Mar 83 pp 208, 210, 211

['History/GDR' feature article: "Search for Tradition: East Berlin Historians Search for the Roots of a National GDR Identity--To That End, Even Bismarck Is Being Revaluated"]

[Text] Since mid-February Empire Founder Otto von Bismarck may be referred to in the GDR as "a statesman of great stature." That is the title of a Bismarck article in East Berlin's JUNGE WELT, in which Dr Heinz Wolter of the Central Institute for History set down the admissible degree of a Bismarck veneration.

Released for admiration from now on, accordingly, is Bismarck the politician, who "could handle realities," that is to say the "Realpolitiker." Bismarck is to be lauded for having managed "to come to terms with the process of bourgeois transformation which had come to the fore in Germany imperiously in the 19th century." That he brought such an accommodation about in a "Junker-Prussian-militaristic manner," diminishes his rank to be sure, according to Wolter of the Central Institute, but should yet be appreciated compassionately.

What remains unforgivable of course are Bismarck's hunting for socialists (the party ban of 1878) and his social welfare legislation after 1880.

The Central Institute's summary judgment (it being a sort of passport office for entering the historic Valhalla of the GDR): Of great stature, "as long as Bismarck remained in harmony with historic necessities."

Bismarck's revaluation now made public by the Central Institute probably was facilitated for the East Berlin communists by a few circumstances. They principally include the fact that the classic authors--Marx, Engels and Lenin as well--despite all objective criticism treated Bismarck with some respect. Friedrich Engels, e.g., called the chancellor a "man of great practical reason," and Lenin thought Bismarck had "accomplished a historically progressive cause in his own Junker-like manner." (A trace of these two utterances can be discerned both in substance and in the diction used by the Central Institute.)

Marx was the most resolute Bismarck adversary among the socialist classical authors. Even so, he remained rather courteous in taking issue--apart from some epistolary boners ("Pissmarck"). He was revolted, to be sure, by an attempt made by Ferdinand Lasalle, for instance, to propagate in talks with the Prussian Prime Minister Bismarck a "Royal-Prussian Government Socialism," as Marx scoffed, yet in this he directed his angry criticism almost exclusively against the socialist competitors.

Another mitigating circumstance in the Bismarck revaluation for the SED doubtless was Bismarck's Russia policy. The JUNGE WELT article indicates that clearly. It praises "Bismarck's realistic understanding never to allow a war against Russia" and immediately after that says: "Within the scope of our differentiated understanding of our historic legacy, a reunion with Bismarck would certainly be conceivable."

Historian Heinz Wolter's tortuous mode of expression suggests, to be sure, that he is well aware of the delicate aspects Bismarck's pro-Russia policy has had for the leftists to this very day. In the 19th century, Russia was seen as the "citadel of reaction" by all democrats and socialists. Marx and Engels in 1848, like almost all other leftists in Frankfurt's Paulskirche parliament, desired nothing more than a war against Russia.

That then will give certainly an embarrassing after-taste to Bismarck's "realistic understanding" with respect to Russian power, to the East Berlin communists. After all, even today, in the Soviet Union, the famous Prusso-German-Russian entente is seen as an arch-reactionary alliance aimed at suppressing any revolution in Europe, particularly in Germany, by force of arms.

As interesting as such and similar deliberations may be for the GDR leadership, another motive has been and is for it more important, also in the Bismarck revaluation: the desire for "national identity" and "historic ground"--or in other words, for anchoring the GDR in "all German history" on the one side, and the development of a special (socialist) GDR identity within this total framework of "all" of German history.

The terms quoted--"national identity," "historic ground," "all of German history," come out of an article by GDR Prof Walter Schmidt. He is the director of the Central Institute.\* The article is meanwhile more than a year old.

The date of publication of Schmidt's article (5 July 1981) indicates that the now initiated Bismarck revaluation is only a piece of a much older historiographical campaign. In fact, the beginnings of this campaign aiming at national identity and continuity go back to the 1950's. Its stations and characters have long been known: Tauroggen and the Prussian reformers (Gneisenau, Scharnhorst, Clausewitz, Frederick the Great and Bluecher, Luther and his Reformation, all newly being revaluated over against Thomas Muentzer and the Peasants' War), and so forth.

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\*The full name of the Institute is Institute for the History of the German Labor Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee.

The Schmidt article of the summer of 1981, for all that, marks an important signpost, even in retrospect. It has clearly pushed and expanded the revaluation process, and this, as Schmidt wrote himself, in "chronological" as well as "territorial" respects. The GDR wants to have "all" of German history, not only the history of Prussia, Saxony, Mecklenburg and Thuringia; nor does it want to start its own history not until 1949 but--as stated verbatim--search for "traditional values back to the time of primitive society," back to the "genesis of the German people as an ethnic unity."

In this context Schmidt proposed a whole gallery of great Germans for a "differentiating evaluation": Kings and emperors like Henry I, Otto I and Henry IV, "late absolutist Hohenzollern rulers," "Mecklenburg dukes, and even representatives of the "monopoly bourgeoisie," like Siemens, for example.

There are, to be sure, limits too to Schmidt's national enthusiasm, "socio-structural" ones, as he calls them. The "real historic process" as taking place since 1945, he says, leaves no room for the Germans in East and West to have anything "in common," except their "ethnic unity."

And what does "ethnic" actually mean? According to the Duden Lexicon: "Particular national characteristics in common." So the Germans still have "particular national characteristics," according to the "Central Institute."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MARXIST HISTORIANS' CHANGING VIEWS OF LUTHER ANALYZED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 10, 7 Mar 83 pp 103, 106, 109, 111, 113

[Unattributed article: "'Regarding Mr Luther, Everything Is Now Peaches and Cream'--How the SED Is Celebrating the 500th Anniversary of the Reformer's Birth." For various references to related information, see translations of two West German commentaries published under the heading, "Reasons for New Positive Interpretation of Luther Analyzed," in JPRS 83152, 28 Mar 83, No 2122 of this series, pp 25-34]

[Text] The year of our Lord 1983 is a heavy year for the SED agitators.

This is the centenary of the death of the progenitor of socialism, Karl Marx. So the SED declared 1983 the Karl Marx Year, of course.

But it also is the quincentenary of the birth of another German: of the pious Christian and progenitor of the Reformation, Martin Luther. Thus the SED declared 1983--somewhat less self-evidently--a year of the "GDR's tribute to Martin Luther."

The propagandists of the GDR government party are the ones that carry the burden of this strange double announcement from their top alchemists. They have the job to produce the enthusiasm decreed for both jubilees alike at the base without confusing comrades tuned to rigid atheism. That is a tough cookie to nibble on by the SED's public relations professionals, expert as they are in ideological shifts and turns.

What is most embarrassing is that not only SED pedestrians but even the ideological dogmaticians and party-line functionaries in the party apparatus must get the impression that the Politburo feels closer to the Evangelical Reformer than to its own ancestor.

To celebrate Martin Luther appropriately, the SED set up a "Martin Luther Committee of the GDR" already way back in June 1980, headed by SED chief Erich Honecker and with many prominent Politburo members on it.

A little later, as a guideline for the "Martin Luther Tribute in 1983," the party disseminated 15 theses on the Reformer among the people--written on party orders by the Academy of Sciences and GDR universities.

The occasion is celebrated by academies, museums, colleges and the Urania cultural society through innumerable exhibitions, lectures and concerts. GDR publishing houses are coming out with approximately 100 books, records and picture volumes. The state-owned Defa is producing a Luther series for television. The Culture League of the GDR has assumed the obligation to see to it "that our organization can help enforce a massively effective and extensive Luther tribute."

For the Reformer's birthday on 10 November, as the high point of the socialist Luther upsurge, a compact assembly of party bosses will hold an official act of state the evening before in East Berlin.

The East Berlin cabaret Die Diestel came out with this jingle: Whoever still thinks/that Martin has been/philosophically seen,/ not so legitimate--/Comrade Erich regards him as fit!

From the Luther jubilee the image promoters expect a good name for the GDR in the West and in the Third World countries, many of which are governed by people who still got their education from Christian missionaries. Not last, they expect plenty of hard currency from millions of tourists, mainly from the United States.

As the Diestel comments: "With Mr Luther, everything is now peaches and cream."

That Karl Marx would have to be celebrated simultaneously was something the GDR bosses did not remember until late in 1982: On 1 December the SED Central Committee published on the first three pages of its party paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 theses on the "Revolutionary and Theoretician of the Workers Class," which were 14 more than on the Reformer.

Yet there is no jubilee committee for Marx. Marx only gets everyday stick-to-it slogans in the party press addressed to all, farmers, FDJ members, workers and intellectuals--with the tenor: "Great initiatives in the Karl Marx Year for a high labor productivity growth rate" (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND).

That Luther has, at least temporarily, outranked Marx has to do with the SED effort to invest its own state with historic potency. The catchphrase, in good GDR-German, is "heritage reception."

As GDR historian Adolf Laube put it, "it involves the GDR's historic sense of identity as a German state with historic roots going back to the beginnings of German history."

"Our workers and farmers state," Erich Honecker intoned while constituting the Luther Committee, "in line with its policy geared to the well-being of the people, is putting into practical effect the ideals of the best sons of the German people. Among the progressive traditions which we are fostering and

furthering belongs the work and legacy of all those who have contributed to the progress and development of world culture, regardless of their social and class origin."

And in the Luther theses, the SED historians are even postulating an all-German hegemonial claim: "The roots of the GDR lie deep in German history. As a German socialist state, it is the product of the age-old struggle for social advance on the part of the progressive forces in the German nation. All this progress, together with all those men and women who brought it about, form an inalienable part of the traditions that have molded our national identity."

The SED's focus in looking at this history had been much more limited for many years. It was mainly seeking to differentiate its own regime from the feudal and bourgeois German past and extol the workers and farmers state as an incomparable revolutionary achievement.

That its horizon has broadened was explained by SED historian Laube, one of the authors of the Luther theses and a member of the official Luther Committee, by the party's greater self-assurance. He said: "A working class in power which also represents the interests of the other classes, takes a broader view of the past than one that is struggling for power."

It can afford making a claim to Goethe as well as to the traditions of the kingdom of Prussia.

The Goethe year of 1982 was celebrated with pomp in the GDR. And by no means only the goose-step of the honor guard Unter den Linden recalls Prussia's gloria. Frederick the Great's equestrian statue returned to its spot between the State Opera and the New Guard some goodly 2 years ago.

A 5-part TV series pays tribute to the military reformer Gerhard Johann David von Scharnhorst, and of late, GDR historians even utter cautiously friendly words about the arch-conservative Empire founder Otto von Bismarck.

But with Luther the SED might have taken on too much. Because in contrast to the poet laureate Goethe, e.g., Martin Luther is no spiritual hero of the distant past whom one could twist to one's own liking but the representative of a social force still fully alive in the GDR, widely rejecting the official ideology: the Evangelical Church.

At the Tutzing Evangelical Academy, Laube and his colleague Gerhard Brendler, who also is a member of the Luther Committee and the author of a Marxist Luther biography, about to be published in summer, have presented the new Marxist Luther image in detail--whereby they inadvertently disclosed the dilemma the SED has plunged into in this endeavor.

Laube and Brendler, as it were, divide the Reformer into two halves, a subjective and an objective one, to tailor him to domestic communist use. What he intended, says their thesis, was a reformation of the faith and the Christian church. What he brought about inadvertently was the "revolution number one of the bourgeoisie" (Friedrich Engels).

Brendler and Laube grant, to be sure, what Luther researchers in the SED have thus far always denied: that Luther can be understood in the "inner core of his personality" (Brendler) only "if one first and foremost takes him seriously as a theologian and in his most personal anxiety about his salvation" (Laube).

Yet the church reformation Luther sought, under the social conditions of the early 16th century with their encrusted authoritarian structures, became necessarily (Laube: "to a large extent regardless of what Luther had intended") "the runway for the bourgeois revolution, the Reformation itself becoming an element of the early bourgeois revolution" (Brendler).

That, from the Marxist point of view, is Martin Luther's "objective" achievement. And that precisely justifies including him in the GDR's pedigree--regardless of Luther's subjective intentions and of where his "impulses" came from.

Laube cites a whole number of examples to show the revolutionary acts of the Reformer: his fight against usury, begging and the tithe and against the large capital corporations such as the Fuggers, "seen as the incarnation of early capitalism."

Laube: "Socioeconomic reform ideas are as much part of the Reformation as are political ones and cannot be separated artificially from the religious-theological ideas."

Laube has found a persuasive reason for why the SED only now discovered Luther as one of its own and the party, for 30 years, preferred the peasant-revolutionary Thomas Muentzer: "The social situation after 1945, the anti-fascist-democratic reorientation, first and foremost required recalling the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the German people, that is to say, the traditions of the Peasants War and of Thomas Muentzer."

At the 450th anniversary of the Reformation in 1967, the SED for the first time tried publicly to claim the "early bourgeois revolutionary." But that did not work out very well, mainly because the government party totally ignored the Christian and theologian Luther was.

The plain comrades' Luther image retained its negative tint, school books were not rewritten. The 12-year old sixth grade children still learn in history classes that Muentzer was a hero and Luther, "a traitor to the revolutionary peasants."

But that is to change too in time for the 500th birthday of that Wittenberger: At the start of the next school year in fall, the sixth grades will get new history textbooks--with a much retouched Luther picture. Even from the church advice was solicited for the first time on how the Reformer should be presented.

The trend is clear already: They will not do away with the contrast between Luther and Muentzer but mitigate it enough so that from now on both may stand alongside one another concerning the "heritage reception."



Luther's achievement is diminished but not devaluated any longer by the stand he took in the Peasants War. It can even be plausibly excused from the Marxist perspective by the "class nature of his personality" (Brendler).

"His achievement in theology," says the Luther biographer, "was sufficient for igniting and setting in motion the reform movement but not for ideologically handling and justifying it down to its most radical consequences"--simply because Luther represented the interests of a nobility-oriented bourgeoisie.

Yet it is precisely the attempt to harmonize Luther with Muentzer that reveals the dilemma into which the SED--and the SED politicians along with it--have plunged in seeking to come to grips with the past.

In conformity with the Marxist sense of identity and understanding of history, the GDR government party could at best celebrate the Reformation as the start of that revolutionary process that in 1949 finally culminated with the GDR. But by including the man Martin Luther in its pedigree, it turns him into a model--a man who received the measures for his existence and acts neither from a world-immanent ideology nor from a party or a collective.

With Luther, the SED, whether it wants to or not, also reevaluates that church that is founded on Luther, a church which, however much it seeks to integrate itself in the GDR, remains a critical factor in the socialist state, as shown by the new church peace movement.

"The revolutionary element in Luther's theology," as SED member Brendler has recognized, "was that the established authorities of the feudal society were in principle denied the right to make decisions on conscience in matters of faith. And this precisely paved the way for the interest of oppositional forces to combine with the new theology."

What will the rulers in East Berlin do if Christian peace friends in their own country soon resort to such statements. If they pit against the state protectors of Politburo member Erich Mielke Luther's own "Here I stand--I can do naught else!" at the Diet of Worms?

The Evangelical church, to be sure, is not so keen on the chance provided by the official Luther tribute. It is more afraid it could lose its own father of the church.

East Berlin's Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr did admonish his coreligionists they should assume behind the SED's Luther praise not only "a search for figures to identify with, a need for legitimacy toward foreign countries and a demonstration of harmony." The party was rather concerned with "restoring the cultural legacy." And that would have the fine result that "one-sidedness due to the struggle" became "reduced."

Mainly conservative Protestants suspect, however, that if they make common cause with the SED with respect to Luther, the reformer of faith and church might in the end fully disappear behind the tailor-made revolutionary.

"What happens there in 1983 is hero worship," Church Counselor Horst Greim in Eisenach says, "and that hits a sensitive nerve."

Warned by their 1967 experiences with the 450th anniversary of the Reformation, the Evangelical Church authorities declined to send representatives to the official Luther Committee and formed their own committee instead. On the Honecker committee are only four churchmen as advisors, among them the Thuringian Bishop Werner Leich, who is the chairman of the Churches' Luther Committee.

In 1967 the church leaders first took part in the official preparations for the anniversary but then had quit under protest--against interference with the church in its own reformation celebrations, where the SED sought to hitch the church to its own political wagon.

The Protestant suspicion that the SED might remodel Luther until nothing is left but a socialist revolutionary is not so uncalled for. Because on this path from a differentiating and sympathetic view by the SED historians to the tailor-made propaganda slogans of the agitators Martin Luther has already perceptibly changed.

The weekly SONNTAG has already promoted the Reformer into a precursor of Lenin. A sample: "Lenin and Luther. The older of the two could not say anything about the younger one. Lenin, vice versa, has not done so either, at least not literally. But there is not a moment of gainsaying to imagining a fruitful exchange between the two."

The churchmen indicated they were skeptical of the chairman of the official Luther Committee when he turned 70 last August. At the Central Committee's congratulatory reception line on Karl Marx Platz, they presented the State Council chairman not only with a load of Luther literature but also with excerpts from the works they had brought along. Since Honecker, as a very busy politician, could not read everything, they explained haughtily, he should at least familiarize himself about the Reformer by means of the abbreviated version.

For their own Luther tribute, the Protestants chose a motto from Luther's small catechism which clearly demonstrates the distance from the state: "Above all, fear, love and trust God."

The church plans a total of seven regional church days, of which only one, however, in September in Wittenberg, is devoted especially to Luther. For the other six, in Erfurt, Rostock, Eisleben, Frankfurt, Magdeburg and Dresden, in addition to intra-church and creed problems, there are also politically explosive points the organizers have included in the program: environmental protection, the peace movement, increasing alcoholism and the high suicide rate in the GDR.

The church year is going to be rung in on 4 May on an international scope and at a historic place: for convocations in the Wartburg Castle, the GDR church has invited all Evangelical churches in the world.

At this Wartburg celebration the SED also can demonstrate its international level and open-mindedness. Whereas in 1967 the government party still refused entry to many foreign Evangelical ministers, on the eve of 4 May

the church guests from Europe, America and the Third World will swarm out over the congregations in Eisenach. More important than the jubilees in 1983 to the church is however a different matter, from which the pastors expect a spiritual effect ranging far ahead: the reconstruction of the Augustinian monastery which Luther entered as a young monk in 1505.

The ownership conditions for the structure, greatly damaged during the war, had long been obscure. At the 1978 summit between SED chief Honecker and the Evangelical Church executive both sides agreed to a peaceful partnership.

The state took over the totally destroyed monastery part, which is not meant to be reconstructed for the time being. Those ruins are now being turned into a memorial for the war victims.

The Protestants got the church and the cloisters intact. Properly in time for the Luther Year they declared the renovation of them a cause of the Luther World League. The League expects to collect \$ 1.8 million for that worthy cause from its member churches. The GDR church itself will carry out the restoration as it sees fit.

After its completion, the Augustinian monastery is to become a center of church activities in the GDR, with its own educational academy, theological seminary, comprehensive library and the historical Luther cell. As early as in the summer, the Sixth International Luther Research Congress will convene there, and also Marxist Luther scholars of the GDR have announced they would attend.

For all that, the church cannot compete with the official Luther eulogies. The fact is that the SED does not confine its Luther reception to speeches and ideas. It spends a lot of money to illuminate each and every spot in the GDR that Martin Luther ever trod upon.

The Wartburg has already been refurbished for M 3 million, without the obligatory ink blot of previous generations in the cell of Junker Joerg. In Gotha, the monk's cowl, Luther's last habit, according to oral tradition, has been painstakingly reconditioned. In Erfurt, they not only repaired the choir of the destroyed Franciscan church, in which Martin Luther preached, turning it into a concert hall with an organ, but even the "Burse," where Luther is said to have lived as a student before he entered the monastery. For the reopening of the house in which Luther was born and the one in which he died, in Eisleben, the GDR even invited Western television in the week before last.

But the culminating point for architecturally coping with Luther lies in Wittenberg. That reformation town has looked like a building site for months--between the palace church with the Luther tomb and the legendary theses gate on the one end and Luther's residence, the former Augustinian monastery, on the other. House facades on the famous Collegienstrasse and its extension, Schlosstrasse, are being repainted, the historic hotel "Goldener Adler," where the Reformer occasionally did some drinking, was reconstructed the GDR-German way. The show-piece, the Luther hall, as the monk's and later family Luther's domicile has been called for 100 years, is scheduled to be finished in spring.

Wittenberg, however, also makes apparent that, with Luther, the GDR has imposed on itself not only ideological problems. The GDR travel managers count on several million foreign tourists in the Luther Year. The Wartburg alone expects 800,000 and, "perhaps," as castle director Werner Noth says, "there will be as many as 1.2 million." Wittenberg, the city fathers estimate cautiously, will see more than half a million, instead of the customary 35,000. Yet Wittenberg is not equipped for such an onslaught. There are only 2 hotels with 200 beds in the town, and its gastronomy is mediocre.

Luther fans, therefore, are going to be hurried through the Reformer's hometown. No more than 2 to 3 hours are set aside for it. On the way to Leipzig, where foreigners must stay in the expensive Interhotel Merkur, "they will still come across Eisleben, after all," says Ulrich Duerfeldt of the municipal culture department.

Luther tourists also cause problems for the Wittenberg state security. One of the communal attractions are the steeples of the city church. From there one has a splendid overall view. Yet how shall the protectors of the state explain to camera-crazy Americans that it is all right to take snapshot in an eastern and western direction, but not in a northern and southern direction because that is where the Russians are?

Using precaution, the local overseers of the ministry for state security have already replaced the town guides. Their older edition was too piously church-oriented and not revolutionary enough for the censors to lead their guided tours through the past.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REBELLIOUS ATTITUDES AMONG FUNCTIONARIES' CHILDREN REPORTED

West German Commentary

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 11, 14 Mar 83 pp 90, 92

['GDR' feature report: "How Could You Do that--Many Children of SED Functionaries Are Among the Drop-Outs in the GDR. One of Them Has Spoken in the West About His Career As a Rebel." A translation of excerpts from GDR dissident Karl Winkler's book cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Many children of high SED functionaries are among the drop-outs in the GDR. One of them has spoken in the West about his career as a rebel.

In his dacha, Kurt Winkler is carousing over his rise with his wife and friends: This deputy department chief in the Central Institute for Physical Chemistry at East Berlin's Academy of Sciences has been awarded the GDR National Prize. Late at night a state security car pulls up.

Yet the security officials pick no one up but rather usher in a visitor: the scientist's stepson, Karl Winkler. He has just come out of a 22-hour interrogation, on 6 and 7 October 1978. He is accused of wanting to form an "illegal nucleus."

Winkler's mother, editor with the official news agency ADN, welcomes the late guest while exhorting him: "How nice of you that you are still dropping in. Only tell no one where you were." Then the undutiful scion joins the SED notables in celebrating his successful stepfather--an East German variety of the conflict of generations.

True enough, all opportunities would have been open to Karl Winkler under real socialism. His natural father became a refugee from the FRG to the GDR. As a KPD functionary he was jailed in the Adenauer Republic, and when his party was banned, he departed for East Berlin with his wife in 1958. He had helped set up the Free German Youth (FDJ). Meanwhile that attorney has returned to the West--as a DKP functionary.

There was a divorce, and the ADN editor married the GDR scientist who in his elevated position worked together with state security--a socialist model family, if there would not be that son. Karl Winkler dropped out: "I had no chance for self-development, everything was predesigned."

When the wall was built in 1961, he was one year old. Along the wall, in East Berlin's Baumschulenweg district, he grew up. That his parents take pride in having helped build socialism is something he cannot understand. To him, the state has been a strait jacket: first, the blue FDJ shirt and then, when he rebelled, the police truncheon and, finally, jail and deportation to the West.

Karl Winkler has written a book about his career as a young GDR rebel (see below). There is quite a lot he blames his parents for.

Winkler is no exception. Many sons and daughters of high SED functionaries, executive security officials or policemen are, says Winkler "among the drop-outs and outlawed in the GDR." They are wearing the proscribed emblem of the peace movement, "swords into plowshares," punks loafing in Dresden and Leipzig, trying to make a go in rural communes or in the housing community in East Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg.

Author Erich Loest, who with a 3-year visa departed from the GDR in 1981, writes about the 20-year-olds in the upper stratum: "Not the sons and daughters of the functionaries are the ones who emulated their parents' examples and become functionaries, too. Too early and intensively they discover the gap between the ideal and reality, and the cynicism that governs life behind the ghetto gates."

That also was the case with Karl Winkler: "I grew up in the sense of real socialism and was all for it." At the age of 15, he became dubious: "I got quite a lot of what they told us in school and of what was going on outside, and that simply did not match."

He joined a clique of adolescents rock-dancing and drinking in a condemned house. In 1976 Winkler was for the first time "beaten up by toughs." As a contribution to the national holiday, he had burned a GDR flag while he was drunk.

His mother once again saved him from the public prosecutor. Yet for the real socialism, Winkler was long lost. Conflicts mounted; to his stepfather he felt open hostility anyway. When Winkler would listen to rock over "Rias," his mother would holler: "Turn off that provocation station!" And then she caught him with texts of balladeer Wolf Biermann, and he was reading books by Rudolf Bahro, Robert Havemann, and Stefan Heym: "If you carry on like that, you are going to be arrested."

They did not discuss anything but vetoed all he did. Winkler: "That was rather rigid and narrow and dogmatic; my parents wanted to push me onto the course they considered best."

When renegade Biermann was exiled from the GDR, he became Winkler's idol. When in school he was supposed to justify his having been kicked out, "it only made me all the more aware of Biermann; that became the impetus."

Winkler took up the guitar himself, sang Biermann texts and songs by Havemann's subversive friends Pannach and Kunert, discovered Bob Dylan, the Rolling

Stones, and started to make up songs himself, such as the "Song of the Soldier," which says: "Sometimes the despots too will croak/Freedom will rise anew." Or the Ballad of the People, which says: "Man, we do want socialism, no philistinism, no Stalinism. We want to be free like everyman so that communism can triumph."

When someone writes like that, he does not keep it to himself. Having meanwhile become a plumber, Winkler sang at parties and even performed with his more prominent colleague Bettina Wegner. In 1979, he was arrested at Alexanderplatz, guitar and all.

The authorities knew him by now. There had been that business with the flag and the setting up of that purportedly illegal group; even once before, in October 1977, they had caught him.

Then, again during the GDR's national holiday, Winkler was in the midst of youth unrests in which four policemen were killed. The boy was brutally abused and interrogated a whole night long. Winkler: "That was a key experience."

He kept singing, now all the more, appeared at East Berlin's Evangelical Students Congregation, and at the always overcrowded Blues Masses of pastor Rainer Eppelmann: "I had my own security experiences; there was simply no way to turn back."

On 29 October 1980 happened what had to happen: Winkler was having breakfast in a friend's apartment behind the elevated stop of Schoenhauser Allee; from the radio alarm clock came rock music over the American AFN station. When there was a knock on the door, he still hoped it was the mailman or the landlord.

But it was state security. Two officials asked him to come down to their car "to clear up a matter." While Winkler was still chewing his roll, they then flashed an arrest warrant.

Shortly thereafter, naked, he stood on the concrete floor before the examining magistrate and obeyed the orders of his guards: "Bend over. Spread them." Then he was put into a cell. The magistrate informed him: "You are seriously suspect of having committed anti-state agitation, as to per article 106." So Winkler's path through jails began.

The first penal chamber of the Berlin municipal court sentenced him to 18 months in jail for "public derogation." With his song against socialist philistines, the public prosecutor said in hyperbole, he had "caused immeasurable ideological damage."

His mother provided him even in jail only with party-line admonitions: "So make use of this time to get a bit smarter." This he did not get. After 13 months in prison, the FRG government purchased his freedom.

When the lost son called home from West Berlin, his mother could only feel sorry for herself: "How could you do a thing like that and kick me in the ass after all I've done for you."

Karl Winkler resides in Kreuzberg, again by the wall. And again he is angry at the philistines and the police--the West German variety of the conflict of generations.

He is distributing leaflets for the alternative and peace movement, is visiting with squatters and taking part in demonstrations. And then, he tells us, he gets told by upset West Berlin citizens: "You should all be gassed! Scram and go across!"

But that, after all, is where he came from.

#### GDR Dissident Winkler's Account

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 11 & 12, 14 & 21 Mar 83

[Excerpts from Karl Winkler's book, "made in GDR. Jugendszenen aus Ost-Berlin" (made in GDR. Youth Scenes From East Berlin), published by Oberbaum Verlag, West Berlin, 1983, 240 pages, DM 19.80: "'We Do Not Want Your Graveyard Peace'--GDR Balladeer Karl Winkler on Youth Protest in East Germany"]

[14 Mar 83 pp 93, 96, 98, 100, 101, 104]

[Text] Because he had sung songs critical of the regime, Karl Winkler was sentenced to a prison term in the GDR. In a book he describes the East Berlin youth unrest of 1977 and the blues masses of youth pastor Rainer Eppelmann, and his track through the prisons of East Berlin, Cottbus and Karl Marx Stadt. In excerpts:

Blue Mass: That was Eppelmann's idea, a peace services with blues preceded by songsters or folklore groups. Though in the show case outside the church there was nothing but a poster that announced the upcoming one, each was crowded. So crowded in fact that the event would have to be repeated.

Usually the first one was held at 1800 hours in a different church and the second, at 1900 hours in the Samariter Church. There would always be between 2,000 and 3,000 people, and state security could hardly catch up taking photos. We would all look alike: jeans, parka; those on the stage and those off the stage. The mood was always good. We knew we belonged together, and when some numbers weren't so good, it did not matter. Between 2,000 and 3,000 people--without promotion, just one poster and mouth-to-ear propaganda.

The churches were full. For every critical sentence or song applause. Finally a place where one says what things are like, even if often merely by alluding to them, but that was being understood, with laughter. Everyone could see he was not alone, there were others who thought as he did and did not hide themselves. That helped, it made you strong, no matter where one stood, on the stage or off it.

I met Eppelmann at one of these blues masses and asked him whether I could sing a few songs. "Okay, why not," he said, "give me your texts and visit me and then we arrange it all."



Then I sang at the next blues mass. Only once before had I sung before so many people. That was during a Bettina Wegner concert. Robert Havemann once told me: "As a song writer or artist you must express people's feelings and what touches the people you perform for. Some have the courage to do so but most don't."

My experiences are the same so many have had. School, apprenticeship, work, constraints, tutelage, mistrust. Most of them adapt themselves but some stand up against it. Often because they can no longer do differently because all the hardships they have to endure because of it are easier to bear than a deliberate adjustment knowing exactly what one is missing. When one then lies to oneself and to others for a whole lifetime. But you only have got one life, what else is there?

Resignation is much worse. When one tries to do something and constantly has to fight against injustice, by petitions, discussions and the like, without every getting anywhere, without changing or improving anything. And then you think you are all alone--and eventually you lose all your strength.

The blues masses are of help there.

We do not want your graveyard peace, confined behind barracks walls. We do not want to be degraded into being mere yes-sayers. We want no military instruction. We want to be allowed to say what we think, even if it does not suit you. We no longer care to join your jubilation by decree or mouth your sloganry. We want our peace. A peace without education in hatred, without military toys.

That is what I tried to sing about at the blues masses. Difficulties there were galore. Eppelmann was put under pressure. He by his church council and we by the official authorities. All who took part had to endure it.

At a blues mass performance: "I'll give you a hint," a youth club chief said to me, "you may perform at my place but forget about the blues masses! You know those blues people who always play there, don't you? We were instructed to let them no longer perform at our place. We even had to cancel contracts already signed, and nowhere else do they get any chances to perform. You are not yet on the index with your songs, but I would not want something like that to happen to you. You may perform with us, as I said. And I'll do what I can, you know that! Only if they tell me from the top: that one no longer, then I can't do anything either. It would be unfortunate for you. But, please, tell no one what I told you, you understand? No one!"

I called Eppelmann. "You know," he said, "there was trouble after the last blues mass." -- "Why?" I asked. "Because of your 'Song of the Soldier.' They think with that you are comparing the FRG with the GDR. I am told to let you no longer perform."

"But that is not so, that's not the meaning of the song," I answered. "Yes, I know," he said, "and you may make further appearances, but this one song you must not sing at the blues masses anymore. Because of one song I don't want to jeopardize the entire event."

"Okay," I said, "you're right, but still it is a shame." "Yet there is no other way," said Eppelmann, "unfortunately."

Blues Mass on 12 September 1980: I had brought the guitar to work. "Well," said my colleagues, "starting again? Lots of luck to you!" When I arrived at Friedenskirche, where the first performance was to be held, the church was already half-full. I greeted Eppelmann and the other people of the organization group and tuned my guitar. As I was number one on the program I could begin at once.

After I was finished, Eppelmann made the introductory remarks. They changed the scenery, I got my stuff together and drove to the second performance, at Samariterkirche.

The street looked like an army camp. Everywhere on the curbs there were people waiting for things to start and for the church doors to open. Many of them I knew.

In the nave, a yawning emptiness and quiet. Only some shouts and whistling here and there from the outside. I approach the ushers.

"We can't start, the amplifier is not there," a member of the organization group said to me, "we have constantly been trying to get in touch by telephone with the people who were supposed to bring it but we are not getting through. Always busy, probably blocked. I believe things are meant to go awry."

"Maybe it's state security," I said, "but it does not matter, I'll sing without amplifier. If they all keep quiet, I'll make it." -- "You'll never make it," he said, "there are at least 2,000 people waiting outside. That won't work. All we can do is wait until the amplifier finally surfaces. We sent someone out to get another box, amplifier and microphones."

So we waited.

After a while there comes an usher--virtually in panic. "You know," he said, "the bullies have just called. Unless we open the church immediately, they'll send a raiding party and clear the place out! That'll lead to a street battle! Do you realize that?" -- "Then let's open up," I said, "let's try it. Somehow we will make it." But how, I did not know myself.

They opened the door, and the nave, so still before, now resembled a witch's cauldron. Later Eppelmann told me there were about 2,000 people in the church and another 1,000 at least outside.

A little later they brought in the box and amplifier. But the equipment expected was not there, nor the microphones. The only thing was a small hand microphone. "Okay, I'll try, guitar and song over one microphone. Maybe it'll work, maybe I make it if all are quiet, perhaps I can sing, all bent up like that."

I made the announcement, suggested what was going on and started. But I could not pluck the instrument, had to strike it hard so that the guitar would at least get through somewhat. It worked, though.

I sang my songs and some by Bettina Wegner. Wolf Biermann songs, unfortunately, I was of course not allowed to sing. One hour and a half, for 2,000 people.

Who among those who applauded are likely to know that I am now sitting here [under investigative arrest in East Berlin] also for the songs in the blues masses.

"Down With the Pack of Bullies"

Alexanderplatz, 7 October 1979: 7 October is the day when the GDR was founded, the so-called national holiday, because the GDR claims to be an independent socialist nation. Up to 1977, a so-called people's festival would be held that day on Alexanderplatz. Everywhere stages would be set up for rock groups and discotheques.

Since the events of 7 October 1977, only Russian soldiers' choruses have been performing on that day or hit-song stars performing the songs of their Western competition. Around 2100 hours they would call it quits, and Alexanderplatz is as empty as on other days around that time. In any event, since 1977 there are no more rock groups or discotheques. There are truck convoys on side streets everywhere, filled with security alert police. There is much fear that events might repeat themselves.

Actually then things were as they had been in all previous years. At the foot of the television tower a rock group was playing, on the other side a discotheque was running. Opposite the discotheque was an air-shaft, in the midst of a flower bed, surrounded by a hexagonal wall 1.5 meter in height. Lattices were placed on top, 8 meters underneath the lattices was the concrete floor with a side opening. Here the fresh air was sucked in for the air conditioning installation of the television tower.

There were crowds everywhere. To be able to see better, 10 to 15 people stood on the air-shaft lattices. They moved along in the rhythm of the music. I was among them.

After a while the lattices became all bent up. I threw down a pile and watched how long it took for it to land down below. What if the rocking were to break the bent up lattices?

I climbed down, wanted to pass on and looked back, the people were still up there, looked back once more, and the platform was swept clean. Broken in! They have caved in, I thought and struggled through the crowds back to the shaft.

A medic also arrived with a searchlight. "They have caved in, have crashed!" everyone hollered, "get them out!" The music kept going! That was around 2030 hours. The medic turned his searchlight all the way down. There they lay, 8 meters below us on the concrete. The bodies, arms and legs were fully contorted. No one moved, No one cried, and there was no blood!

A quarter of an hour later, ambulances, their sirens screeching, tried to get to the place. The music kept going. Police with rubber truncheons cleared an access for the ambulances. They struck in the wrong direction, and the cars departed from us.

Finally, after half an hour, they got the ones who had crashed out. The police still kept hitting us. And we hit back. "Down with the pack of bullies," people shouted. Then they started throwing stones. The music stopped. So did the group playing on the other side of the TV tower. Their electricity had been turned off.

Suddenly the exasperation of all the East Berlin adolescents broke through. "All we are saying is give peace a chance," they sang. "Freedom, freedom," they were shouting. "Russians out, let Biermann in" is what I heard.

Police chains beat down on us pitilessly. The masses surged back, then another hail of stones, and everyone surged forward again. Bottles struck the bullies from the balustrades. So they dispelled the people up there. Once none but bullies were up there, the people hit them with stones from below. The large window panes splattered, sending gigantic splinters around the bullies' ears.

A girl near me fell down and was beaten into a bloody bundle. Police dogs got through, tore themselves free and attacked people indiscriminately.

Barricades were set up from coffeehouse tables, chairs, trash cans and the large iron paperbaskets. Two thousand young people against 400 policemen.

After a 2-hour street battle the bullies, massively reinforced by state security, managed to disperse us and push some of us off to the front of Alexanderplatz. Everything was barricaded, you could not get out anymore. Indiscriminately, adolescents were now pulled out and dragged off.

Again the police chain advanced. I could no longer get away, was hit over the head and fainted briefly.

I came to only when two bullies were grabbing me and twisting my arms back so that my head practically brushed the ground. A third one pulled me up by my hair, I could hardly breathe. Then a fourth one came. "Why, put the butt into his tommy so he does not wriggle any more," I heard someone say. The fourth one thrust his club into my stomach so hard I could not breathe, not even shout any longer.

They dragged me across Alexanderplatz which looked as if a bomb had hit it. There were stones everywhere (the pavement had been torn up), glass splinters, broken chairs and tables and overturned trash containers. But already they were cleaning up again, repairing the pavement, reglazing the windows. The next morning, I have been told, Alexanderplatz looked as always. Only differently shaded concrete slabs attested to what had happened.

In the underground garage normally used for loading the goods for the TV tower restaurant I had to stand up against a wall in police posture. Arms and legs far apart, my legs one meter off the wall and my arms right up against the wall, on a slant, a position one can hardly endure for 10 minutes, we had to stay that way for hours.

I stood in a pool of blood, but it was not my own blood. The fellow next to me dared to move and was smashed up until he rolled on the ground, whimpering. Our ID cards were taken from us. Anyone who had none was beaten unmercifully. "What, you pig, running around without an ID?" they would holler at those. In front they called out names. When called, you had to entwine your hands on your neck and hurry up there.

Finally it was my turn. "Name, date of birth," I was asked. After having answered them I was thrown onto a waiting truck. Thrown indeed. On it, always one bully and one adolescent interchangeably. The security alert police. Opposite to me, a bully had grabbed a girl pressing against her. With his left arm he clinched her neck, with his rubber truncheon in his right he struck her breasts gently. She did not dare to move, afraid he would strike her hard.

Quiet.

After a while the truck drove off to the Friedrichshain VP [People's Police] precinct. There we were unloaded and had to run the gamut of bullies waiting. After more blows and kicks we were shoved into a room with plastic chairs and tables. We crashed among the chairs.

There were already 60 to 70 people there, all roughly in the same age as I. Most of them had their things torn to pieces, many had bandages from under which blood was still flowing. They welcomed us with laughter as "new arrivals." There were many of us, all in the same situation.

Again names were called. Then they chased us upstairs across the stairway into a gym. Three rows of mats were laid out there on which we had to sit all alongside in tailor-fashion.

By now it was 0200 hours. We were not allowed to talk with each other or to fall asleep. Bullies with rubber truncheons and machine pistols patrolled among the ranks. If you had to take a leak you had to get permission. There they stood behind us with their machine pistols. Yet even in this situation we could still laugh.

A woman was sitting in front of me, around 50, dead-drunk. She stank all the way to the next row. "I've drowned my bonus; is that prohibited, or what? You know where we are here, boys? What is it you have done? But they are angry, aren't they?" She pointed to the bullies and took no note of the ban on talking. "Where the hell am I here? I'm innocent, I want to get away, want to go home, to my old man!"

"We are all innocent," we shouted and laughed.

Our guards cocked their machine pistols. "Quiet here," they shouted nervously.

Later they led the woman away. I talked quietly with the fellow next to me and of course was caught at once.

"You there, fall out, yes, it's you I mean, you need not look around so foolishly," a bully shouted at me. I had to move to the entrance and stand up there, but not in the normal police posture but with my feet again one meter off the wall and one meter apart. My forehead I had to lean against the wall, with my hands intertwined on my neck, and both elbows forming a straight line.

After half an hour I was allowed to get back to my seat. I did not say boo after that. Around 0500 hours, trucks took us to Keibelstrasse, VP headquarters.

In a sticky, dirty basement hallway, 100 meters long, lit every 20 meters by a dull bulb, we had to stand in police posture for another day. To breathe the air was almost impossible. Behind us the bullies were running to and fro with rubber truncheons and cudgels. If someone collapsed, he was given the rubber truncheon treatment and put back against the wall. Then he would collapse again at once, of course, and the little game was repeated.

We were allowed to sit down on the ground for 10 minutes every hour. At noon, each got a salty bean soup, but there was nothing to drink all that time. I was terribly thirsty.

Someone was pushed down to us over the basement steps. "He wanted to tip over a truck. Special treatment," one bully exclaimed. Three men came immediately to beat him up. Then they just let him lie there, and it took a few hours for him to start moving again, moaning.

Names were called. One had to run to the front, the hands on the neck, on the double, as they say. If you did not run fast enough, you were clubbed or kicked, if you ran too fast, the same would happen.

After a few hours it was my turn. I ran to the front. "Go, hands up!" they shouted at me. My hands on my neck, I had to run up to the fifth floor, and on every landing there were bullies who hit or kicked or shouted at me. "Go, faster, you pig, get a move on!"

Panting, I arrived upstairs. Again police posture, again beatings. But it was light there and you could breathe. First they took my fingerprints, then I was interrogated.

They could not prove anything against me, and I had thought up a credible story for myself beforehand. I really had not thrown any stones. So after a while they sent me back down to the basement hallway.

In the afternoon we were dismissed, in groups. Before that, we were supposed to sign a preprinted form which stated that we had been treated decently, had been given food and drink, and that possible violations were due to the violence on Alexanderplatz.

One person refused to sign. Then the bully said to him: "Just put your hands on the table. No, only your fingers across the edge of the table. Yes, that's it." Then, with all his force, he struck those fingers with his rubber truncheon.

After witnessing that, I was glad to sign the scrap, very glad indeed, and was released. The youth whose fingers had been struck by the bully with his rubber truncheon I met again a few weeks later. His fingers were still swollen, he could hardly move them.

7 October 1977--I was 17 years old at the time.

[21 Mar 83 pp 92, 95, 97, 100, 102]

[Text] Even in GDR prisons there are hunger strikes, forced feedings, incidents of death: The young critic of the regime, Karl Winkler, sentenced to 18 months in jail in East Berlin in 1981, is reporting in a book soon to be published about the prison conditions in Cottbus and the FRG government's buying him free. In excerpts:

The Cottbus prison used to be a brewery, but after World War I it was transformed into a penitentiary. Already in Nazi times, political prisoners were incarcerated there, and the catacombs served the Gestapo as a torture chamber.

The whole terrain is surrounded by a wall, 10 to 12 meters in height, at a square 500 by 500 meters in diameter. Watch towers are at the corners with guards in them who have machine pistols. An electrical fence is attached to the wall and--as in Nazi times--spiked with glass fragments.

Inside--as all prison walls--it is painted white. Before it there is a one-meter wide catwalk for dogs, a wire-netting fence with barbed wire and another obliquely placed electrical fence, which is not hot, though. It is but a bell wire. Then there still is a one-meter wide security strip, marked by a white line.

Isolation: Solitary confinement without books, newspapers, cigarettes, tobacco, anything. In daytime the bed is locked up. Some prisoners are in there for months.

If for any reason one enters a hunger strike, one is placed in solitary confinement, too. In Cottbus, from three to five prisoners are on hunger strike permanently.

Hunger strike: This is the only chance for prisoners to strike back. There are two kinds. Either for one day or for longer. If for one day, usually nothing happens. But if someone generally announces a hunger strike, he is

placed in solitary confinement. Then they try to force him to stop his hunger strike. After the fourth or fifth day the prisoner is transferred to the prison hospital in Bautzen. There he is forced-fed. Incidents of death occur.

Transports: Every 10 to 14 days there were transports to Karl Marx Stadt into the state security prison. There one still sits a few days, we knew, and is then bought off by the FRG or kicked out. There are all sorts of rumors about what it costs. DM 30,000 for an unskilled worker, DM 50,000 for a physician or engineer. Furthermore, it is said that the GDR also makes the FRG pay for the time that it reduces in a prisoner's jail term.

Political prisoners get high sentences but are then released to the FRG after having done half or two-thirds of their time. A profitable business for the GDR.

The transports were irregular, as was the number of people fortunate to be on them. Sometimes prisoners were put on a transport before even doing half of their time and others completed their whole term or were released to the GDR once again.

We were feverishly waiting for every transport. It was always a great disappointment not to be on it. What an uncertainty. Tomorrow already we might get on a transport, or perhaps next month, or next year, or not at all.

We often could tell from the mood of the bullies whether a transport was imminent or not. Prior to transports they would be in an especially bad mood and torment us more than at other times. These guys would soon be free in the West, they knew, but they themselves would have to keep guarding this bleak jail. Every year between 250 and 300 prisoners are shoved off to the West from Cottbus.

The food got worse all the time. The fried sausage was green inside, maggots were creeping around on the cheese, in the cauliflower soup, the cauliflower was rotten and black, the teawurst smelled strange. There was no fruit at all. Mostly fatty blood sausage and pickled meat with bristles in it, "Saxon lard," they called it.

For 13 August, in protest against the building of the wall 20 years ago, we planned to shut down the punch press all at the same time. A 5-minute pause and quiet, and then we would go back to work. We were figuring on the surprise effect: the foremen would call the bullies, yet before they could come we would already be back at work.

One would tell someone else: "Man, do you know, on 13 August at 1030 hours the presses will be shut off for 5 minutes. How I know? Don't ask so stupidly. It is being rumored."

It turned out differently. An informer got the drift of it, and they grabbed one of us and threatened him that in case the action were to be taken, he would be considered the ringleader and get an extra penalty for "instigating a prisoners' mutiny." So we had to call the matter off.



On 13 August I felt ill. I felt so sick I could not work although I was operating a good machine. The chronic undernourishment and the oppressive heat made themselves felt. At 1030 hours a turnkey came into the hall to check whether we would indeed carry out the action, but nothing happened.

I was sent to the sick ward, called "Weisse Mumpe" [White Stuff] for the reason that sick wards formerly were solitaires. I had to expect 8 days of solitary confinement, and I found myself in the by far "most germ-infested cell" ever.

Not only that the window was grated up from the outside, but even half a meter from inside the whole window was grated up again, so that one could not get near the window. The lower panes were painted all white. The cell was totally putrefied, with an ant trail leading straight through it. A change of pace, in any case, There were ants everywhere. So the first few days I carried on a furious battle and managed to drive them out.

While I was dreaming my time away in the putrid cell, important things were happening in the other departments.

The food got worse progressively, petitions and complaints did no good, the mood become more aggressive, and all that was still missing was one spark. Curds was all that all departments got one evening plus a bottle of linseed-oil for two men each. Seventy percent of all prisoners in Cottbus started a spontaneous hunger strike that day. Others told me what happened.

In the messhall all turned over the bowls and waited what would happen. After a while 10 to 12 bullies stormed into the barracks: "Eat, go and eat, this is a prisoners' mutiny!" No one ate.

"Fall out for work" was the command given 20 minutes later. No one got up. The bullies beat the tables with their rubber truncheons: "Go, out with you, you pigs!"

Then they tried a different tack. "Anyone who does not want to take part in the mutiny should get up and come to the front, all others have it coming."

Our brigade chief got up, then still two or three other men, then five, then ten. They had won.

When the prisoners of EB 5 and EB 7 [EB = Education Area] assembled outside, they saw the machine gun the bullies had emplaced on the wall. Its barrel in their back, the columns marched to the hall.

"They Are Selling Everything to the West"

Karl Marx Stadt: We knew these were our last prison days, but under these conditions they were especially interminable and agonizing.

One day they led us into the tiled shower room on the first floor. "Now they'll gas us," we joked after waiting half an hour. Then we were picked out individually--one of us every 5 minutes. The shower room got empty.

In a wood-paneled room I was asked: "How do you imagine your future after your release in 5 months?" I answered by saying that under the conditions ahead of me after my release I could no longer live in the GDR.

My questioner nodded satisfied: "You are getting a one-time opportunity to emigrate to the FRG. You only still have to fill out and sign an exit application."

Sign! Voluntarily, entirely voluntarily! And what is in store for me if I don't sign, I thought to myself. What is right and what is wrong in this situation? To leave or to stay? What is right, what is wrong? I still can get back. No, for I have already decided. I signed.

"Do you have any debts?" I was asked when I was sitting in a corner of the wood-paneled room, after the normal waiting time, separated from the man opposite me by a few meters and a large desk behind which he was sitting. A large Honecker picture was hanging over it which grimly stared at me.

"No," I replied.

"Of course you have debts!" he yelled at me. "Here, you see, is a railroad penalty ticket because you once rode without paying for it. All right, that is going to be deducted from the money you made in Cottbus, from what is coming to you."

First I was amazed, then I had trouble controlling my laughter.

The rest of the money we had to "purchase," i.e., we had to buy things with it. Some of the money I sent home to my sister, with the rest I had to buy a bag, and then I splurged and bought a box of Western cigarettes for M 70.

People who had no "decent" clothes among their things were forced to buy some. A jacket, for instance, was M 180. We were to arrive neat in the West.

Each of us was photographed. "Sit down properly and don't grin," I was ordered. Defiantly I looked into the camera. That passport photo later was put on the release certificate, which I still have.

Finally, after two weeks of uncertainty, we got our expatriation document and could get into our civies. With the following day we were no longer GDR citizens. The last night in suffocating heat. No one is likely to have slept. The last night in prison. Thirteen months less 3 days. The last night in prison and the last night in this country!

They managed to keep us uncertain about our future fate from the day of our arrest to the day of our release.

After a sleepless night, 25 November 1981 took a rather hectic start. The attorneys Stange (West Berlin) and Vogel (GDR) had arrived. From all cells people were brought to them, bit by bit, all morning until noon cells were unlocked and locked again. They took the prisoners to them who were clients of attorney Vogel.

I was so excited I kept smoking one cigarette after another. When the hell is it going to start? Then a door opened: "Is there a Winkler here? Let's go, come on!" The tone was no longer so tough but more casual and relaxed. Still one could tell by looking at them how peeved they were that we were about to go to the West while they had to keep guarding their prison.

In a room I was informed that my remaining five prison months had been converted into 2 years of probation. I had been jailed because of my songs. If I kept singing them in the West I would again commit a criminal offense in accordance with GDR law.

Finally things got started. They loaded our bags first and then us. Two large tourist busses with West German license plates were parked in the courtyard. We were assigned seats. Only in front and in the back no one was allowed to sit. State security officials sat there, who got off at the border.

We laughed with excitement--finally things were rolling! After a while, Stange and Vogel boarded my bus. How much I had already heard about them, about the course of the buying-off procedure, and now there they were, two steps in front of me. Vogel, thin and small, with a hardbitten face, but still friendly even though reserved. Stange, heavy-set and round, beamed all over, and his friendliness, I found, was genuine.

Again two busses full of people who through my efforts leave prison for freedom, he might have been thinking. And I do believe him.

Stange and Vogel gave a small speech. We should keep quiet up to the border and by no means start singing the national anthem until arriving at the border, as had happened before. "You still are not across," Vogel emphasized.

"But soon," Stange said with a smile. "And keep quiet in the FRG about the details of your release. Because if that becomes public knowledge, the GDR will stop the next transports. You know yourselves what it feels like to be sitting in Cottbus with no transports leaving. So think of your comrades. The GDR does not let itself be blackmailed by publications. We try to take care of the whole matter discreetly. And as you see, we have had success with it. Only because of that you are now sitting in this bus."

Not I, I thought. They are kicking me out, and the FRG is paying for it to boot. The worst thing: now I even want to get out, away from here. I am fed up. I don't want to live in exile. But is the West not also an exile? An easier one, where one can do more? But it's all shit. Where did I lose all my joy?

Then we took off. The busses turned around in the narrow prison yard. They slowly moved through the gate. I looked back and saw the many cell windows. Boy, I thought, how many are still sitting there or are running around in the narrow, walled-in concrete bays with a wire mesh drawn even at a 6-meter height. I have the evil time behind me, but they?

We were driven through Karl Marx Stadt. Children were coming out of school, laughing. My glances soaked up what I was seeing outside. Houses, cars, stores, all new and beautiful to me after 13 months of concrete. That is also the way I felt when watching TV again for the first time after 9 months of Cottbus.

Stange and Vogel preceded the two busses in a blue Mercedes, a Polski-Fiat of state security drove behind us.

We rode up the Autobahn. I saw trees, real trees. Never again did trees seem so beautiful to me as during this bus trip. Boy, go and be happy, I thought, be glad you are out of prison.

Yes, I am going to be away from home. So I took another look at the cars and the people. In the future I will come through here only in transit, as a guest. As a foreigner. And again I cannot even cry about it.

The Wartha border crosspoint. We talked quietly with each other. In a minute we'll be there. We did not dare to speak up because the state security people still were in the bus. How might the others feel about it, I asked myself. They wanted out, tried to escape and were arrested. How does one feel when things come true over which one has suffered for years?

Trucks were clogged up for kilometers before the border crossing. The left lane was closed to us, and we passed by the long convoy. "There you can see it," someone remarked, "they are selling everything to the West. What we are short of is all in those trucks." He still said "what we are short of."

The bus came to a brief stop and the security types got off. Then both busses made a big detour around the processing installations. "We got rid of them now," the bus driver announced through a microphone, and everybody cheered. Two busses with people redeemed.

The total price probably several million westmark. In the past a Hessian prince had sold "countrymen" to America to pay his debts. Today they are sold to the West so that GDR princes have their quiet and foreign exchange to pay for their debts.

On the other side things went fast, too. "Boy, I am in the West, just imagine, I am in the West," one or another kept saying. And I? I let them drive me out, I thought.

It got dark fast. The West Autobahn was smooth, without bumps we were riding toward Giessen. The bus driver was joking, and I saw the western cars flit by fast. Each of us got a bag with provisions, two rolls with a lot of sausage and cheese on them, an orange and a box of Lord Extra.

Outside of Frankfurt/Main we were stuck for a long time. "The leftist plotters are kicking up a row on the western runway," said the bus driver. Such a leftist "plotter" is sitting right behind you, I thought.

Finally we arrived at the temporary reception camp of Giessen. Attorney Naeumann of West Berlin gave a brief speech, each of us got DM 50, it would take 3 days to take care of all formalities, and then we could continue to the place where we wanted to live. I decided on West Berlin. There I would be closest to home, I thought, and there I have friends who would put me up for the time being.

The following day we ran around from place to place. Medical exam. Getting stuff from the Evangelical Refugee Aid. Asylum procedure application. The employment office, the public welfare office. We were loaded down with brochures and forms.

Constitutional Protection: Do you know associates of the MfS [GDR Ministry for State Security]? Do you know MfS informers? How long were you in prison? What was your conviction all about? Have you recently observed troop movements in the GDR? Do you know of new army structures, barracks, for instance? Where do your parents work? And on and on. The office looked like a state security interrogation room. The guy looked much like my former interrogator and other security types I got to know. The same manner of asking questions, the same look, the same distrust.

I reacted automatically as I had during security interrogations and gave devious or no answers. Why should I make their work easy? The same mugs. I had the whole secrecy stuff up to my keister, I thought.

Identification service: Again I was to "play the piano" (prison jargon for fingerprinting). The others, sitting around with me, were depressed and irritated but let it happen.

"On what legal basis is this being done here, if you please?" I asked. "That is done with all who come from the East," I was told, "to find out whether they have ever committed a crime on FRG territory or are in any way in our files."

I yielded. I did not want to have trouble right away in the new country. That will come sooner or later anyway, I thought, and since I have had my fingerprints taken three times already, a fourth time won't matter.

Many criminal types had come along with us. They only were drunk and disabused the officials. "Bureaucratic shit," they yelled, "it is worse here than in the East!" I felt embarrassed for them. But in part they were right.

In Tegel, first I embraced Wolfgang. He also had changed in these 13 months. After the first enthusiasm of our reunion had passed, he said: "You are looking real bad--like a concentration camp prisoner. But I'll get you in shape, you can depend on that, I'll do it."

Everything was new. The many cars and people in the streets. The obtrusive and checkered advertising everywhere. The many subway lines. Finally we arrived at Wolfgang's apartment in Sonnenallee, Neukölln. Two kilometers farther, at Baumschulenweg, right along the wall, I grew up. There I spent my childhood and there I went to school.

I went shopping with Wolfgang. Here in the West, shopping malls are called supermarkets. The vast supplies struck me. Here the stuff piles up and only 70 kilometers farther, in Poland, people are starving, I reflected. And then, worse, my friends in Cottbus. Later Wolfgang told me: "I watched you carefully when we went shopping for the first time to see how all that affected you. But I could read no enthusiasm in your eyes, only resistance and skepticism."

"Go, pick something out. What do you want to eat tonight. Here is the sausage stand, select something."

"But it does not matter what, you know, it's all the same to me."

"No, you should pick something out. What do you like to eat? Salami perhaps? Go ahead already."

The many varieties of sausage. "I don't know. You pick something out. It is really all the same to me."

"Go ahead. Ham maybe?" I had eaten no ham for 13 months.

"What kind of ham, raw ham, boiled ham, with spices, beer ham?"

"I don't know. You pick something."

"But Kalle, you should not be so fussy. You should select something."

"Raw ham perhaps? If it is not so expensive."

We bought raw ham. The same thing happened with other things. There were 30 different cheese varieties, seven types of bread, pineapple, bananas--strawberries in the middle of winter.

Here people are full, I thought, and in Poland they are starving. I had real guilt feelings with respect to my friends in Cottbus.

"Dramatic Farewell"

Fifteen months after being kicked out of the GDR, Karl Winkler was back in his hometown, East Berlin--illegally. Instead of applying for a regular visitor's permit, Winkler had provided himself with a more easily obtainable 3-day visa for the Leipzig Spring Fair. From there, on the last but one weekend, Winkler made it to East Berlin. Says he: "Any police patrol could have arrested me when checking my ID."

No later than 2 days after dropping in on old friends in East Berlin, according to Winkler, state security knew "I was there." The GDR critic played a trick on his shadows: In a restaurant he and friends staged a "dramatic farewell" for a young man "who resembled me." The officials fell for it and watched the double on his way home.

From East Berlin pastor Rainer Eppelmann, at whose blues masses Winkler performed until 1980, the songster found out how peace activities have developed in the GDR. Eppelmann: "Blues masses are attended not only by 4,000 people as 2 years ago, but by circa 7,000 nowadays." Church peace groups, Winkler reports, meanwhile also have contacts with the punks: In a church at the Prenzlauer Berg city district, roughly 60 punks had met regularly until on Friday in the week before last the church had been closed for performances by official decree. Beatings had ensued.

When departing for the West, Winkler explained to the GDR border official he had "missed the special Leipzig Fair train to West Berlin." The border official at the Friedrichstrasse subway did not arrest him, however, but seemed relieved: "Now everything is all right." Winkler received special treatment in departing for the West. He was allowed to leave the GDR without customs control through the diplomatic exit.

5885

CSO: 2300/169

EXPATRIATED DISSIDENT WINKLER ON 'ILLEGAL' STAY IN GDR

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 24 Mar 83 p 9

[Report for DIE TAGESZEITUNG by Karl Winkler: "Illegally at Home in East Berlin: Karl Winkler, the Young Balladeer Expatriated in 1981, Spent Three Days on the Leipzig Fair Train Traveling to the GDR"]

[Text] On 25 November 1981, Karl Winkler of East Berlin, 21 years of age at the time, was exiled to the West after having spent 13 months in prison. The songs he had been singing in youth clubs and at the blues masses were chalked up against him as "anti-state agitation" and as "public derogation" of official organs. In mid-March he was back "at home" in East Berlin--illegally in terms of GDR laws. He is reporting in this paper about his meetings with old friends, unemployed, punks, pastor Eppelmann--in short, about the scene in East Berlin.

About his life in the GDR, the blues masses and his imprisonment, Karl Winkler has reported in a book, "made in GDR. Jugendszenen aus Ost-Berlin" (made in GDR. Youth Scenes From East Berlin), 240 pages, DM 19.80, about to be published in April by Oberbaum Verlag, West Berlin.

[PLEASE NOTE: Translated excerpts from Winkler's book are published in this JPRS issue in pages preceding this report]

"How does it feel living in West Berlin, in a different world," people would ask me here when I am talking about East Berlin. And my answer would be: "Imagine having to live in the GDR with your old home and friends, the familiar streets and squares, your own family, only a few meters away; you could glance at it all but could no longer go back, never more." There are so many former GDR citizens exiled from prison to the West; like them I am forbidden to enter the GDR and East Berlin. All that is left is dreams, telephone calls with friends, television programs and newspapers. And the sad glance across the wall into the other half of Berlin. Insurmountable as the wall formerly was for me from East to West, so it is for me today from West to East.



I was there a few days ago.

There was a chance to go by special train from Bahnhof Zoo to the Leipzig Fair by a special visa. At the station I ran into people I knew well, former GDR citizens who are not allowed in, like myself. We laughed to hide our tension. Whom would they pull out at the border? The train took off. I expected they would send me back. At the border checkpoint I trembled and could not hide it. We did not dare talking with one another loudly or looking at one another. Each rode all by himself. Because the border and customs officials remained in the train all the way to Leipzig. Six people were pulled out at the border, interrogated and sent back. But for me things went smoothly, and all of a sudden I got off the train in Leipzig. I had gotten "in," into the GDR, and I could not yet believe it. How often I had dreamt about it. Eva came with me, who grew up in West Berlin. "After passing the border checkpoint I became awfully glad that everything had worked out. Initially it was just an adventure. But later it was more than that."

We walked the streets in Leipzig to find out whether we were being shadowed by state security. In a corridor of a house we changed outfits. In my parka and corduroy pants I was conspicuous as a Westerner; those I had put on especially for the border check. I felt more secure in jeans and a blue sweater.

We took the next train to East Berlin. Our visa was good only for Leipzig; we were not permitted to leave the city. So we had to avoid any possible ID check, should not become conspicuous and should cautiously watch the people around us, among whom there might be state security observers. The fellow-travelers in our compartment seemed distrustful. Rolling a cigarette with Western tobacco made us conspicuous immediately. I remembered when I still lived in East Berlin, I could tell Westerners at once, from the way they looked and moved around. Eva too, when visiting West Berlin, usually could pick out West Germans.

So there I now was in the half of Berlin I know so well, was at home. And I still could not quite believe it. They let me get in, and I was at home. From Berlin to Berlin via Leipzig. Everything seemed smaller than I remembered. The streets, the houses. I felt similarly when I saw the garden again in which I had played as a child. How big it seemed to me then, how small it seemed later! People moved much more quietly and casually. Were there always so very few cars and did they always drive so slowly? People talked in the subway and laughed; hardly anyone had a hardbitten face. And when the traffic light was red, everyone waited patiently even when no car was passing. Had that always been so, or is it different only in the West? "Here one can stand the speed," Eva said, "I need not be afraid to be run over all the time. That is perverse; a few hundred meters away, things are different."

We took off and visited my friends. Our visa was good for 3 days and, if possible, I wanted to see all of them again. We were under enormous stress all the time. Any police patrol could have arrested us in checking our ID, and state security surely knew no later than on the second day that we were there.

We did not stay long with any of my friends. The nicest thing was how all enjoyed seeing me again. A visit at Bernd's: "Ministry for State Security," I said when he opened the door. We embraced. "You must be crazy; you are not allowed to enter and, least of all, enter here. And if they pull you by your nose, how do you expect to get out again?" There were still some other people in his place, candle light, wine bottles, rock of the Sex Pistols, the TV was on but the sound was off. We were talking about an island which had no east or west. "You see, this is our island, this apartment here, more and more people stay home. The joints close early, and when there are several people in your party, one gets no seats there anyway. In the FDJ youth clubs, there is hardly anything going on any longer. The bullies often disband meetings in apartments, and once they asked us why we were not meeting in a youth club. But that's where we are coming from, we said. When we were about to leave, Bernd asked one of his friends whether he could put us up and unlock the house door for us. "Can you handle a picklock," he asked him. "No, I can't, but I am an excellent tank driver."

Thomas cannot find a job in his trade because there has been for some time a new problem in East Berlin. There are unemployed who are called "job seekers" in the official lingo. All East Berlin enterprises have for approximately 6 weeks had a hiring stop; they may not hire any new people. Two years ago, when I still lived in East Berlin, they were looking for labor everywhere. Now, no one can change jobs. "In the past, when you wanted to change jobs, management would implore you to stay. Today, they simply seek to get rid of people who do not suit them. Unemployment compensation? No, that we don't have. If my mother did not support me, I'd be in a hell of a shape," Thomas explained.

And the Hungarians, Poles, Czechs and Bulgarians who live as guest workers in the GDR are gradually being pushed back into their homelands. If a foreigner gets a divorce from a German woman, his GDR residence permit is not longer extended. Circa 100,000 foreigners are still working in the GDR. East Berlin alone, according to estimates by church associates, has circa 38,000 "job seekers." Among them surely are many who want to keep the trade for which they were trained and want no job that is worse and pays less. One step forward is that one is no longer, as still 2 years ago, called "asocial" and put in prison. One of the "advantages of real socialism in contrast with imperialism" is in jeopardy: this "there is no unemployment among us," as they always proclaim in the newspapers.

"You are Kalle who used to sing at the blues masses and were pushed out to the West," a woman asked me with whom I started talking in my former hangout. Two years away from home, and there are people who know about me whom I did not even know. But who does of the public in the West? "You have to keep at it and keep talking," I was once told by a music manager. And Eva said: "In West Berlin you are all alone, no one inquires about you unless you have friends. No one gives a damn. I have been in no place of which I knew I would run into someone again. Without having exchanged addresses. That is different here."

I was curious about what had become of the peace activities. Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, whom we also called on today, said: "Not only 4,000 people, as 2 years ago, but circa 7,000 now attend the blues masses. While previously we had to worry about each blues mass that the series would be outlawed, we now may film a blues mass in May 1983 off the British TV." Eppelmann wishes the Western media would more thoroughly and responsibly deal with the problems of the GDR peace movement. No sensationalism, no exaggerations.

"The people who were active at the time have become much more aware and also more self-assured, and they are much less fearful," our friends kept telling us. "Right now the state leaves us alone and, instead, concentrates on the punks." The state is taking a breather, to think.

Nor were there any punks as yet 2 years ago. But they are not looking quite as disheveled and aggressive as their Western "colleagues." Lutz, who is working together with punks in a peace group, said: "What makes them different from us is that they demonstrate their resistance quite openly to the outside. Even by their clothing." The church peace groups and the punks accept each other, do not reject each other. For some time the punks had the chance to meet in a church at Prenzlauer Berg city district. Approximately 60 punks would come regularly. "And what are you doing there with the punks," I asked. "Rather ask what they are doing with us." On Friday, a day before our journey, the church was closed for events by official decree. Police vehicles stood in front of the church. They tried to provoke the punks arriving there into a street battle. Several were beaten and kicked. The chief mayor of East Berlin, Mr. Knaak, in this connection to church representatives, verbatim: "To be concerned with the punks is love's labor's lost anyway. Too bad there is no euthanasia for them." Euthanasia, as defined in a GDR lexicon: "Mitigation and shortening of the death struggle by medication; criminally misused by Hitler fascism."

A female punk has trouble because she often smashes display windows. Her friends are always afraid when she goes out. "Recently I wanted to throw the core of an apple into a wastebasket, but it was 15 meters off and it landed on a policeman standing alongside the wastebasket."

"What was formerly often processes by state security is handled today by the police. Those 60 punks may no longer meet in the church, so they will meet in apartments, and then the bullies will strike. Altogether, they now often raid parties in apartments and then take the people to the precinct, where they are beaten up. They grab a few of them and put them in jail. That is the new tactics against the punks," one of my friends related.

Then we still passed through the Prenzlauer Berg city district. "Like Kreuzberg, but no advertising and fewer people and cars," Eva remarked. In front of a youth club, a board announced its program of events. Almost nothing but discotheques. Under it the notice: "We ask our guests to wear dance-proper clothing." Alongside the board a banner said: "Our soldiers bear their arms for the protection of peace and the good of the people!" I showed Eva the house in which I had once lived. My name plaque still was on the mailbox.

Visiting with Beate. "Boy, you are not allowed in here, how did you even get in," she sobbed while we were embracing. She is the mother of a colored child and under job restriction. "Everytime I apply for a job they are quite friendly, and then I come again to learn that it won't work. All that is needed is for state security to call. As if there is always a rat sitting on the desk. Now the four of us live on M 420, and just don't think there is no racism here." She had taken her colored son on vacation to the Baltic. The neighbor's son beat the kid up. "You dirty nigger-pig, you are not worth picking my cherries from the tree," he yelled at him. When Beate one afternoon lay on a bench, her son said to her: "I don't understand why you want to get a tan; I am looking for a bench on which I can become white." Beate has applied for emigration. "I love my country and am a communist, but this way I cannot go on. Not long ago they searched my apartment and even took away my love letters. When I talk with state security types, they even say I am right. But that changes nothing. Among the 'normal' people, loyalty to the state has increased, exactly as in the West, where they have elected Kohl." We were talking about West Berlin. Beate is afraid to go West. "You yourself are already half a Westerner," she told me, "one can tell from your speech, your frustration, action, madness, power, horny, fucked-out, genuine. Especially this word 'genuine,' why this constant affirmation of honesty?" No, that is no cliché. We talked all night. And another farewell. "Don't cry, Beate, soon we'll have a beer together in West Berlin, without being shadowed by state security," I said to her. She took us up to the frontdoor. "I have to find out whether state security is waiting for you already outside." And there she stood in the door, waving at us slowly and sadly. And that hurt. "Now go inside, Beate," I exclaimed. The morning was dawning. We walked among sleepy people on their way to work, toward the subway.

"How do you like my friends," I asked Eva. "People like that I know in West Berlin maybe three or four at the most," she said, "they just accepted me, without any ado. And they did not know me at all. Such warmth and cordiality. I was an outsider yet felt at home at once. Here it is clear what one is fighting against, and there is genuine solidarity among the people who are doing things. How often I have fought against people in West Berlin who call themselves leftists but can do nothing else but discuss things in a pretty and cool manner for hours. In the West, everything is a big supermarket, feelings included. What concerns me is this: I grew up in West Berlin and you grew up here. All this about the wall I always repressed; I was used to that. That was a bad habit. Now I can also see how close Poland is, for instance. Or Leipzig, which was merely a name to me. I only knew the nerve-racking transit route and the border crossing points. You know, all this East-West conflict they are constantly talking about has really gotten to me. All the time I thought maybe a different life-style is possible here. I could have imagined to stay here. And then Beate is telling me how things really are and that she is leaving although actually she would like to stay."

We stood in line for hours to get into the TV tower restaurant and let ourselves be driven around it once. We were laughing but did not feel so good. Below us, hazy Berlin, the highrises on Alexanderplatz, the Keibelstrasse prison, the wall, and then looking across to West Berlin, the Springer high-rise, the Palace of the Republic. We came closer to our departure.

When we and friends left the ESG (Evangelical Students Congregation) on the evening of Monday, 14 March 1983, the third day of our illegal stay in the GDR, there stood state security. The evening before, the bullies had raided the Alexanderplatz, shortly after we had been there. All young people had their ID checked. On that Monday the first excerpts of my book also had come out in DER SPIEGEL. For that reason friends in West Berlin had advised me not to travel. What we had been afraid of all the time, now it had happened. And we had to expect getting arrested. We moved on and were being shadowed. There were state security types right in the next car in our streetcar. We got off and, in a restaurant, thought about what we could still do. The restaurant slowly filled up with state security types. Later, Eva remarked: "That then was a confrontation with power. Leather gloves, sport's cap, brown parka, deliberately inconspicuous, cold, harsh eyes, quick, suspicious glances at us. I recognized the types at once." Yet we did find a solution. One of my friends resembled me. After a dramatic farewell, he left. The state security officials were fooled and shadowed my "double" on his way home.

At the last visits we paid we were rushed, we no longer had much time. Peter: "I want to stay as long as possible. But I do not want to put my son in school here. All this military education and such. Recently one school opened, in one classroom they showed pictures of Hiroshima and said: that is the same the Americans want to do to us. That will happen soon and we must be prepared for it. At night, one of the children started crying in bed, and then that disgusting business was revealed." Shortly before 2400 hours we were sitting sadly opposite Christiane. She could not talk and only looked at me. We could not say anything either. How is one to deal with speechlessness? We had not seen each other for more than 2 years. "Are you well?" I asked. She did not nod. "This whole East and West business is so terrible," she whispered. "Many West Berliners are coming here, looking for warmth."

On our ride toward the border we could hardly keep from crying. Again I had to get away, away from home, away from my friends. Going to the West, which I could hardly fathom any longer. And then the anxious question: What is awaiting us at the border? So we entered the Friedrichstrasse station, the "Palace of Tears," as the glass pavilion is called in the East Berlin vernacular. We surrendered our passports. "We missed the special Leipzig Fair train to East Berlin" was our excuse. When the border official inspected my passport, he was relieved and said "Now everything is okey." "Just take a set, someone will be with you right away." He used the familiar address. In the hallway at customs there was a table with chairs. What now? Interrogation, waiting, getting undressed and frisked, maybe even arrested? We prepared ourselves mentally, had discussed everything beforehand. Five minutes later an official came and gave us our passports. "Walk along this corridor." We passed by customs. There was a board that said "diplomatic exit." Another passport check. "Turn your head to the left." My acquired reflex action made me turn it to the right. "To the left, I said." Eva started laughing. And right then we stood on the western side of Friedrichstrasse station. They did not even look into my large bag. We could hardly believe as yet to be back in the West.

"What will become of our dreams then/in this country so torn and flayed/  
the wounds will heal no longer/ under the dirty band-aid/ and what will  
become of our friends now/ become of you and of me/so much I would wish to  
be away/ and would so much like to stay/ so much stay here" (Wolf Biermann).

And what does "here" mean?

The subway took us to Kreuzberg, and I looked into the closed-up familiar  
faces and, in Kreuzberg, walked through familiar nocturnal streets.

Walked home, too.

5885

CSO: 2300/169

CIVIL DEFENSE CHIEF LAUDS VOLUNTEER WORKERS

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 13, 1 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by Lt Gen Fritz Peter, Director of GDR Civil Defense: "Great Readiness for the Humanistic Cause of Civil Defense"]

[Text] For 25 years now, tens of thousands of our citizens, in addition to their professional and social obligations, have been voluntarily making their particular contribution to the humanistic goal of civil defense in our worker and peasant state. Under the leadership of the party of the working class, civil defense developed from the civil air defense of the fifties and the sixties into an integral part of our socialist national defense and occupies a respected position in the society of our republic. On 11 February 1983 the permanent members and the volunteers of our civil defense are joining the other working people of the GDR in celebrating the 25th anniversary of the establishment of our civil defense system.

Incentive and Duty

All these years were marked by the unselfish efforts of the permanent members and the volunteer workers of our civil defense in the decision-making bodies and the units. The humanistic cause of civil defense is for them both an incentive and a duty to achieve great heights in perfecting the protection of the population and the economy. They produced exemplary results in the socialist contest "Civil Defense Initiative--Tenth Party Congress: For the Protection of Life and the Achievements of Our Socialist Fatherland." This level of performance reflects the unequivocal political position and the motivation of the members and volunteers of our civil defense system.

Hannelore Kaspar of the Waren district hospital, for example, explains her involvement: "We realize the necessity for civil defense efforts. It is not just because of accidents. We must be ready in case of attack. For this reason I am also willing to endure personal restrictions, including those that limit my leisure time and family life." Karl-Heinz Otto of the construction material factory in Ueckermuende is motivated by the following experiences: "I saw the horrors of World War II. My two grandchildren are going to grow up in peace. That's what I want, and that's what I'm going to work for." "I know how much effort goes into what we do. That's why I'm guarding our achievements," says Werner Maeding, platoon leader of a hospital train in the Karl-Marx-Stadt district; he is employed at the machine-tool manufacturing research center.

These motives were and are a major reason for the noticeable progress in training, and similar statements can be heard from the overwhelming majority of the civil defense forces. The progress made is especially visible in comparisons of achievement, in exercises and in disaster relief. As in the past, numerous civil defense training measures were taken in the academic year 1981-82.

For example, in the district of Teterow late in the summer of 1982, state authorities, enterprises, cooperatives and civil defense formations alongside the local population practiced cooperation in solving complicated tasks. Practical measures demonstrated what lessons have been learned from the snowy winter of 1978-79 about stabilizing agricultural production.

#### Creation of New Facilities

Exercises of this sort contributed to the readiness of the formations and the general morale of civil defense in the districts, enterprises and facilities. In the past training year, civil defense units created installations worth more than 21 million marks not only by intelligently combining exercises with important economic projects in the districts and enterprises but also by expanding further training facilities.

The progress in the area of civil defense is also documented in the movement of the Best. Seven percent of all voluntary workers wear the Best badge, and sixteen percent of all regular units have been awarded the title of the Best. The results of efforts to persuade more women and girls to become actively involved are encouraging. In the Erfurt district alone, over 700 women and girls joined the units within 6 months. About a third of these forces are made up of women; in the district of Neubrandenburg the figure is above 38 percent; and in the Potsdam and Frankfurt districts, it exceeds 40 percent.

All these examples and results point to the increasing willingness and ability of the citizens of our country to become active in protecting lives and property from disasters, in guarding our socialist achievements against all attacks by the aggressive forces of imperialism. With great attention they follow the world situation, which has been dangerously aggravated by the most aggressive circles in the United States and the other NATO states through their policy of confrontation and their extensive arms buildup, and then draw the necessary conclusions for their own lives. By their actions our citizens are strengthening socialism and peace in production as well as in civil defense.

The members and volunteers of our civil defense system have also set themselves high goals for the current academic year. Using the example of the originator of the contest, the civil defense formation of Liebernicket from the district of Karl-Marx-Stadt, they are concentrating on further increasing readiness and willingness. The first weeks of the new training year have already made it clear that they are going to make a valuable contribution in the Year of Karl Marx to strengthen further our socialist fatherland.

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TU PAPER DEFENSIVE ABOUT SOCIALISM

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 11 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Géza Iván: "Our Conflicts in Socialism"]

[Text] Our conflicts cannot be neutralized in the near future by a dynamic economic development and by a steady and apparent increase in living standards. This means, from a certain aspect, a new situation. The political leadership of the early fifties did not recognize the right of conflicts to exist in socialism; as a result, conflicts permeated our society to the point of eliciting the 1956 counterrevolution.

In the past quarter century it was not that we negated their real existence; rather we did not pay much attention to them. Actually, it was our rapid social and economic development that neutralized the negative effects of our conflicts, which public opinion accepted without significant consequences.

However, at the beginning of the eighties, we certainly cannot reckon with such a neutralizing factor, at least not in the foreseeable future. Thus the way we can consciously solve our conflicts becomes more significant.

REACTION BY THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PUBLIC

Society's capacity to solve conflicts becomes especially significant today. No doubt, it depends on subjective conditions as well, namely, a refusal to regard conflicts as phenomena foreign to socialism. In other words, we should be psychologically and politically able to live with conflicts which are the result not of serious, and strategically important, flaws in leadership but of tension that exist in spite of a basically correct political policy and they may be corrected or tolerated.

For instance, one aspect of our faulty picture of socialism is the simplistic view of equality. In our society, which is more and more oriented toward performance, it may become a source of tension when the difference between the income of those who work harder and those lagging behind may become significant in a period of which we hope living standards are not going to be significantly lowered.

This difference may become a primary source of tension because, as a result of a more consistent implementation of the reform in economic management, the less efficient factories and enterprises may even go bankrupt. In such cases the constitutional right to work is not the same (as was generally assumed up to now) as the right to have the same job!

When the mentality of taking risks becomes general in our economy, which still is of a socialist character (many of us must still get used to this idea), there will no doubt be in spite of its effect on boosting output, some failures and lack of success. Public opinion must accept these failures, too, without making socialism responsible for them; on the contrary, they must encourage new enterprises and initiatives within socialism and for the good of socialism.

Thus one condition of socialism's capacity for solving conflicts is to prepare public opinion for these things. This does not mean resignation, of course, but a citizen attitude which does not make socialism itself and our social-political system automatically responsible for the difficulties of individual lives. The attitude is rather widespread today that socialism is to be questioned and made responsible right away when the price of potatoes goes up--and this is perhaps not an oversimplification.

However unfounded this attitude is, it is widespread and has a certain rationale rooted in the past. In the first half of the people's democratic development, policies included many promises and illusions regarding the pace and process of our development, which have proven to be unrealistic. We are paying for these shortcomings especially now that because of external and internal reasons, our conditions have deteriorated and may deteriorate even further.

At the same time they also show us what we must do in our policies in this regard. The earlier idealistic aspects of our concept of socialism must be erased; it is necessary at this time that the public view the theory and practice of socialism as the same.

It is also necessary that politics better prepare the citizens for the difficulties along the way, instead of mobilizing them by painting a picture of a more promising future that disregards a realistic prognosis of development. For when that certain tomorrow comes, the public will sense right away the disharmony between promise and reality. And the consequences drawn from it will belittle even those real achievements that may be called historical. Being prepared for the difficulties ahead will increase society's psychic capacity for carrying the burdens and may become a material resource. The contrary process has a disarming and weakening effect even at the sight of the first serious difficulties. Thus the choice is clear.

#### THE ROLE OF OUR INSTITUTIONS

Our country, which has become more sensitive to foreign economic conditions, cannot--and does not--significantly reduce the disadvantageous external impulses that elicit conflicts. This should not be a reason for despair or

anger; the most important thing is to be able to take the appropriate positive actions. The correct reaction to the challenges of the world economy and, to a large extent, to our own flaws and problems depends partly on our ability to solve conflicts. This is just as important emotionally and politically as it is institutionally. But what role can our institutions play in this?

The model for one of the ways of solving our conflicts may be what has already been apparent in the important decisions of the party's policy, namely, we must always begin with real facts; we must seriously consider the opinions of those who will carry the burden of the resolution's implementation. We must reckon with the interests of all social groups affected by the practical implementation of the given political resolution. Not less important is the role of the capacity of our political mechanism for steady adaptation and appropriate reaction at the smallest quivering in our extremely small world in which countries are interrelated in a complex way.

It is not characteristic anymore of public opinion to compare the economy and politics. On the other hand, it is apparent that our institutional system is, so to say, falling behind our economic flexibility and capacity for continuous correction encouraged by existing policies. Thus it is not erroneous to suppose that politics and economy are very closely interrelated in spite--or because--of the priority given to the former.

In looking at an institution further away from the economy, for example, our election system, we can see the necessity for modernization, for under our present circumstances it ceases to offer an experience of participation in meaningful political action. But we could mention other examples as well.

That part of socialist democracy which is supposed to express and represent the interests of the individual social groups as producers is relatively well built and operating. The same cannot be said, however, of the social sphere in which the consumer, the citizen, the customer rather than the producer is the subject. Many of our conflicts come from this area and, considering the increase in free time, their significance is not going to decrease.

#### THE DISCOVERY AND EFFECT OF INTERESTS

It is desirable to increase the role of our institutions and social organizations, and especially the trade unions, in discovering and representing interests. This makes it easier for the party to lead the society, for leadership and management are always manifest for the most part in decisions. Although there can be no doubt about the class allegiance of leadership, the field of action has become so wide that professional and scientific bases are just as necessary as political inspiration for making the most appropriate decisions.

The scientific foundation of political decisions also means, of course, that the political leadership should have supporting institutions of the social sciences which not only supply but also analyze and evaluate information and

help decision making by their multiple proposals. But not even these institutions can carry out the discovery of society's interests if the function of interest representation is itself the weakest link in the activity of the individual institutions and social organizations.

In the present period of our development the interests are primarily non-political but may become political problems if they remain unsolved. For example, the chronic shortage of apartments may become a source of political tension. Thus its solution--and the discovery of other possibilities--within our financially rather limited "field of action" is just as much the responsibility of the professional and state branch as of the political leadership.

The existence of interests is objective, thus they exist and have their effects even if policies ignore them. But in this case their efforts do not help encourage our progress but create social conflicts which may result in a crisis if coupled with other subjective and objective difficulties.

Because in a permanently stabilized period it is their interests through which the huge masses of people may be approached and permanently mobilized in a direction that is in line with social policies, an extensive exploration of interests will not slow down our development; on the contrary, it may speed it up. Although the complete mapping of society's network of interests cannot entail the satisfaction of all interests, our familiarity with them will make it easier for us to rank them according to their importance and our goals and to consider them in making decisions.

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PILA, KROSNO PROVINCES PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Pila's Secretary Stanislaw Hiller Interview

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 29-30 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Hiller, Secretary of the PZPRP Provincial Committee in Pila, by Kazimierz Marcinkowski: "The Party Must Act Together"; date and place not specified.]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Secretary, thinking about the period that will be scrutinized by the Pila Provincial Reports Conference on Monday, 31 January, one certainly recalls the memorable days and events of the past year and a half ...

[Answer] This was a time that gave little cause for optimism to the newly elected leadership of the provincial party organization, as well as to most people in this country. The complicated sociopolitical situation and the deepening economic difficulties compounded by the disorganizing activity of antisocialist forces undermined and hampered the normal work of the economy and the structures of economic and administrative management.

[Question] This must have affected the implementation of the program adopted around that time by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and by the Pila PZPR Provincial Reports-Election Conference?

[Answer] There was practically no time or opportunity to think those programs over and to proceed to their implementation. Almost every day brought new developments, attacks by political opponents, which called for our counteraction and absorbed a great amount of time and effort.

[Question] Was it a time of work on the case-by-case basis?

[Answer] Almost. One should stress, on the other hand, that in our province a peaceful working class, the public consciousness and the strenuous political work conducted by basic and higher party organizations resulted in a quieter atmosphere in Pila enterprises and in the streets of our cities and villages compared to other areas in the country.

[Question] This was not only work, but also political struggle, for which the party was not prepared.

[Answer] That is true. The greater credit, therefore, should be given to the party aktiv, particularly people with long experience. It is appropriate to recall what kind of people we have. Many of them have shed their blood in fights for liberating this land and returning it to our motherland in 1945, people hardened in political struggle of the first postwar years. These are people of a strong character and convictions. They are always ready when the party needs them. In the face of political pressure by the enemy, they retained their ideological identity and were the first to place themselves at the party's disposal when the martial law was introduced.

[Question] Not everybody was that steadfast ...

[Answer] Certainly not. As a result of political and emotional turmoil, pressure, and even persecution of PZPR members, some of them left the party. Our provincial party organization now numbers almost 33,000 members and candidates. We have 5,600 members less than a year and a half ago, but we certainly are a stronger organization in terms of cohesion, discipline, and, above all, unity of views and actions.

[Question] An important date was, of course, 13 December 1981?

[Answer] The prevailing sentiment among the entire Pila public, and not only party members, was relief--the awareness that after a dreadful course of events it was finally possible to start thinking about straightening the entangled social and economic situation and look forward to a more peaceful tomorrow. This sentiment prevailed also in party organizations, which immediately proceeded to work according to plans to consolidate and purge their ranks of ideologically unstable people who were a ballast to the party.

[Question] In that difficult time, one had to make an effort to consolidate the party prestige, to confirm the loyalty to the political guidelines developed at the Ninth Congress.

[Answer] We have been and still are trying to do that by dealing with the issues and problems that directly affect the life of the people. We would not, however, be able to accomplish much on our own; therefore, we rely not only on the party aktiv, which, incidentally, had been recently joined by a great number of younger people who perform important party functions and, despite lack of experience, are coping increasingly better with their difficult tasks. We try to be in touch with all people who are not indifferent to what is happening around them, at their enterprise, in their town, or in their village. More than 400 Committees for National Rebirth [OKON] in our province exist not only on paper; their members are true public activists who try to change the situation to improve things. This is a good beginning for the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON].

[Question] Are there young people among them? As I recall, the issue of the young generation was on the agenda of the Pila party leadership even before the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee?

[Answer] To begin with, every fourth of 160 new members admitted to the party in these past months came from youth organizations. The 20,000-strong group of members of ZSMP and ZMW in our province is, I'm convinced, the base and the future reserve of the party. We see the young in OKON's, in workers' self-government units, in the renascent trade unions. Generally, Mr. Editor, you are right in underscoring to some extent the long-term aspect of the work of our party leadership and organizations with the young. The plenum of our PZPR Provincial Committee dedicated to issues of the young took place before the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, which was preceded by work with the young at basic party organizations, each of which was concerned with this matter in its area.

[Question] The current provincial conference takes stock of an important period in the life of the Pila party organization, completes the reports campaign, which started from the ground-level party units. How do you evaluate its course?

[Answer] That we will have to render account of the program adopted during the hectic days of the reports-elections campaign in the middle of our term was known to us even when we were adopting those programs, as this was expressly stated at the Ninth Congress. When adopting the programs we thus had to be aware of their realistic nature. Some of the aspects, however, were corrected by life and by the changing socio-political situation. Currently, at reports meetings and conferences, the delegates, speaking on behalf of their party organizations, frequently underscored the importance of consistency in implementing the party resolutions, from the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, to those adopted at plenary sessions of the Central Committee, to their own resolutions taken in local party organizations. They underscored that carrying out one's own decisions and making sure that those decisions fit everyday practice is the most certain way to rebuild the party prestige, and regain broad support for party policies.

[Question] It is well known that the prestige of a party organization is not only a reflection of the prestige of the entire party, but also a result of its particular initiatives at an enterprise or in a community. Was an awareness of this fact audible also during the course of the reports meetings and conferences?

[Answer] This was visible in many speeches and suggestions directed not only to higher authorities but also internally, to members of one's own party organization in one's own community. This concerns particularly issues of law and order, public discipline and careful economic management. This was the case, for instance, in Wronki district, where, upon a motion put forward at meetings of basic party organizations in Klodzisk and Wartoslaw, the local community, members of the party,

farmers (both members of the ZSL and unaffiliated persons), went out and repaired 5 km of roads, plus an additional 2 km that is still under construction. The available government funds wouldn't be sufficient even for 1 km. One should also mention the vigorous participation of our party organizations and leadership in implementing the decisions in the frame of reference of the Armed Forces Inspection, revealing certain instances of negligence in our province, and at the same time pointing out the possibility of their relatively rapid correction.

[Question] The PZPR Provincial Reports Conference clearly expressed its attitude in regard to the basic lines of activity in the current year. Which of these will be particularly important for the party, now operating without the protective umbrella of the martial law?

[Answer] Most important are all initiatives and actions that teach us to work and act by the entirety of the party, by the forces of all its units and members and not only the aktiv, which still is sometimes the case. I believe that this can be achieved by a well-deliberated distribution of assignments and a specific accountability for them. All this should be done bearing in mind that all steps taken by the party should be subordinated to the interest of the working class, the working people. The statement of assignments, thus understood, requires a profound knowledge of the needs of the workers and of the population in general. For this reason, in our provincial party organization, we frequently hold sessions of party agencies, particularly of the Provincial Committee Executive Board, at factories and in communities; this is preceded by an acquaintance with the problems on the part of the members of the Executive Board through direct contacts with people in workshops. This assures the adequacy of decisions that are made, consolidates the links between the party and the nonparty communities. In the future, all our actions and plans will be subordinated to the superior goal of strengthening the organizational cohesion and ideological unity of the party, under complete observance of the party rules and the democratic centralism in the party.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

#### Pila Province Reports-Programs Conference

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 1 Feb 83 pp 1,2

[Article by T. Bartkowiak and Wl. Wrzask: "Consistent Implementation of the Resolution of the Ninth Congress and Ideological Cohesion Reinforce the Party's Authority"]

[Text] Yesterday in Pila, the PZPR Provincial Reports-Program Conference took place. It was attended by 259 delegates, representing nearly 33,000 members of the Pila Provincial party organization; according to the



decision of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the delegates retained their mandates valid from the last Reports-Elections Conference. This conference was an important event in the party life of the region. It evaluated the activities covering the period from June 1981 through December 1982 and summarized the results of the reports-programs campaign in the basic party units. After a broad and constructive discussion, the program resolution was adopted concerning improved efficacy in implementing the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and Fourth Reports-Elections Provincial Conference.

The session was opened by first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Michal Niedzwiedz, who greeted the delegates and the invited guests, including first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Waldemar Swirgon, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of PRL, Zbigniew Madej, deputy minister of public health and welfare, Stanislaw Gura, and president of the ZSL Provincial Committee, Eugeniusz Jarysz, chairman of the SD Provincial Committee, Alfred Jeska, chairman of the provincial assembly, Aleksander Wiza, Pila province chief Bogdan Dymarek, and KOK chief, Colonel Tadeusz Wojtowicz.

The conference then proceeded to adopt an agenda and rules for the debates and elected a resolutions and recommendations commission. In accordance with the agenda, the delegates approved the following materials submitted to them in written form:

- report on the activity of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Pila for the period of June 1981 through December 1982,
- report on activities of the provincial auditing commission,
- report on the activity of the provincial commission of party control and
- information on the degree of implementation of recommendations of the Fourth Provincial Reports-Elections Conference.

The documents suggested that this was a period of stormy changes in the life of the party, due to political fights with opponents of socialism and sociopolitical and economic crises. From June 1981 through December 1982, the membership of the provincial party organization decreased from 36,619 members and candidates to 32,960, that is, by 5,659 persons. The majority of those who left the ranks of the party proved to be unsteady individuals, who failed to resist the pressure of the antisocialist enemy forces. As a result, the party gradually recuperated its ideological cohesion and, consequently, its political identity and reliability in performing its role of leadership.

A large task has been accomplished by the provincial commission of party control, which, in accordance with the resolution of the Fourth Reports-Election Provincial Conference, investigated the complaints, and where confirmed, dealt justly with members of the former administration in Pila Province. Besides, during the period under report, the commission examined a total of 124 personal cases of party members accused of violating the organizational rules and ideological unity of the party, acts damaging to the party and abuse of official positions for personal gain.

The report of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board read by first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Michal Niedzwiedz, commented on the above-mentioned documents and at the same time served as an introduction to the discussions.

Twenty-seven persons spoke during the discussion, including 11 who had their speeches put on record.

At the end of the debate, the floor was taken by the PZPR Central Committee secretary, Comrade Waldemar Swirgon. (His speech is printed separately.)

As a result of the party-spirited discussions, which went on for several hours and included a great number of observations and suggestions as to the program of activity of the provincial party organization, the conference adopted a resolution concerning the directions of improvement of the efficacy of implementation of resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and Fourth Provincial Reports-Election Conference.

At the close of the session, the participants sang the Internationale.

#### Krosno Secretary Henryk Wojtal's Interview

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 3

[Interview with Henryk Wojtal, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Krosno, by Wieslawa Czubalowa: "Getting In Touch With People"]

[Question] Let us look at your local problems through the prism of general public doubts. After all, not all of them have vanished. People still have their qualms, different attitudes...

[Answer] If only we had a greater understanding of the circumstances under which we have to make decisions and plans for the future! Being aware of the crisis is not enough. The public must be aware of all the things which weigh upon us, hamper the introduction of reforms, renewal of life, morality, ideology and all values. After all, there is no lack of people who really try to ensure that everything went well

our country. We have wise programs. How do we reach people? This is my big question also.

[Question] Would it be a greater economic awareness?

[Answer] Everybody should understand that we are introducing the reform without a reserve of currency and in an acute international situation under the pressure of Western restrictions.

[Question] People tend to have just one measure--empty shelves.

[Answer] We cannot give and distribute more than we produce. Everybody seems to be so badly concerned about the nation, but in fact guided by personal interests. We lack a will for common action to bring about order. We cannot even gather together for defending ourselves against social anomalies such as profiteering.... We just wait for the authorities to protect us, and voice claims and complaints!

[Question] And this is how empty shelves become the main topic of conversation. The usual opinion is that as long as there are shortages there will be profiteering ...

[Answer] One could speak of a vicious circle were it not for the certainty that even in the worst economic situation public opposition to pathological phenomena can yield substantial results. We must act; there is much to be done.... This must be easier now that, instead of the previous, often misleading and controversial, multiplicity of programs, we have one program for emerging from the crisis. The core is work--so that there will be more products on the market, including those which we cannot buy abroad. What the previous government imported for dollars we must produce ourselves. When, how and what should be done? I believe that the party program is sufficiently informative, specific, tells what is feasible to us and what is not.

[Question] How does all this, Secretary, apply to Krosno Province? For instance, what has been done at local enterprises to compensate for the shortage of imported raw materials?

[Answer] We have begun to utilize local raw materials, secondary raw materials, recycled wastes, in many places we are introducing new technological processes and improved design solutions. Based on economical and technological analysis, the enterprises now know how much raw materials, fuel and power they must save. We have put into operation certain lines of production that were previously supplied by imports, including oil additives produced at Jedlice. The demand for spare parts at Krosno Glass Works was covered last year with imports worth \$364,000. New alternative solutions have cut the cost down to \$109,000. At Polmo Shock Absorber Factory, replacement of imported materials with local materials will cut during the course of the year the currency expenses by more than a million dollars.... There are other examples as well.

[Question] That means that the situation is not too bad--mines are working, actions are under way and not only here; however, the effects somehow remain invisible....

[Answer] Because it is too little compared to the amount we used to import. We have, however, acquired certain experience, people now believe that it is possible to produce by using local means. Obviously, this is too little, especially considering the unutilized potential of a million educated people in the country! If only each of us gave some thought as to what he could improve in his own work. In Japan, an employee's time is scheduled to the minute--is ours scheduled even accurate to the day?

[Question] Is it that all we have to speak about is again just the need for good work? Maybe, as the former experienced director of the Gamrat Plastics Works in Jaslo, you can suggest, Comrade First Secretary, a method, and advice as to how to make everybody get down to work.

[Answer] Method, advice?! I see them in the reform that will eliminate, among other things, the system of distribution by directives (which, as is known, does not reward good management and good work), as well as in personal examples of those really concerned about the nation's well-being. The reform enables the enterprises to develop rational wage policies favoring better productivity.

[Question] There are, however, some enterprises in the Krosno Province which have neither raw materials nor waste--no possibility for production. What would you, as a former factory director and the current political manager of the province, suggest to them?

[Answer] Why not produce for consumers (both domestic and foreign) who have raw materials? Many factories are working that way.

[Question] Some see in it selling out to foreign capital.

[Answer] In our situation, this is just one method of utilizing industrial capacities. Can we allow them to go to waste? In this way, a part of the product stays in the market and the country earns foreign currency.

[Question] And for the long term?

[Answer] We will work ourselves out of debt....

[Question] I wonder how many farmer-workers do you have? They say that it is this category--people struggling in their villages with poor supplies, shortages of agricultural products and bureaucracy--who, when they come to work at the factories, take most unfavorable attitudes toward the new trade unions, the workers' self-government, do

not believe in their potential....

[Answer] I would be inclined to interpret this as political indifference which results from lack of time and the need to work two jobs. Nevertheless, we evaluate the development of new trade unions in Krosno Province positively. They are developing slowly, and people have time to ponder, to become convinced. At Jaslo Refineries, for instance, they have been accepted by 40 percent of the employees, at Gamrat Plastics Works 30 percent and the Polish Teachers Unions in Biece has been joined by 85 percent of educational workers....

[Question] We have calmed down greatly; life is getting back to normal, but the political divisions and differences in outlook remain. Do you believe in reconciliation?

[Answer] Is there any other way out? Let everyone answer this question to himself.

[Question] What would you like to achieve at this conference?

[Answer] First of all, increase the number of people willing to put into effect the resolution of the Ninth Congress, so that people in their own communities will work to resolve local problems. We also want to say openly what we can and what we cannot do.

[Question] Could you give an example?

[Answer] We can resolve the problem of bread supply in the province. We are putting into operation eight large bakeries. We can promise a substantial improvement of the conditions of work of health services. Due to the building of hospitals and clinics, the number of beds will grow by 40 percent. We are capable of undertaking the party effort for implementing the economic reform--we are conducting systematic work with factory directors and the staff engineers and technicians. On the other hand, we will not be able to meet completely the province's requirements of drinking water, for we do not have the necessary funds and water must be taken to supply Krosno, Sanok and Jaslo. We will also have to wait with general resolution of agricultural problems. Reclamation and improvement, construction of access roads will require multibillion-dollar expenses. In view of this, the main task at this stage is the maximum possible utilization of farm properties in their current state.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Krosno Secretary Henryk Wojtal's 2nd Interview

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 11 Feb 83 p 3

[Interview with the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Krosno, Henryk Wojtal, by Edward Wisz: "All Issues Are Important If They Concern People"]

[Question] Comrade Secretary, in June 1981 at the PZPR Provincial Reports-Election Conference, you were elected first secretary of Krosno's provincial party organization. Out of several candidates, you were the person to whom this responsible and difficult function was entrusted. This was also the time of acute political struggle. Not all members of the party were capable of finding their proper place in it.

[Answer] The overwhelming majority, however, did not break down, but undertook this struggle. Yes, I am not afraid to say that this was a real struggle. It was at the same time, however, normal political work, even though conducted at the front line. We held plenary sessions, meetings, went to factories, opposed antisocialist propaganda, developed specific plans for emergence from the crisis, took steps towards improving supplies, especially of food, listened to complaints and suggestions, and went on with building and developing various objects serving the needs of the working people. First or second or tenth occurrence of troublemaking, anarchy, law violations--which were so characteristic of the situation in Poland at that time--yet we never (to use military terminology) retreated to the previously prepared positions. On the contrary, we stood firmly on the positions that we held, for it was none other than only our party and our government that repeatedly appealed to reason, to sobering up, for national reconciliation that saved the country and the people from the likely disaster.

It is also important to stress that we did not work in isolation. It would be no exaggeration to say that we enjoyed the support of the majority of the working people, even those who did not agree with us. The conference took place in a difficult period, when Solidarity was degenerating into a militant group which at that time was described by extremists as a social movement. I could show a great number of letters received at that time from workers, farmers and teachers by our committee where over and over again the question was asked: When are you going to stop the endless strikes? When will vandalism and disorder disappear from our cities, villages and townships? When will the law become the law, when will work find its proper place in society?

[Question] Yet, a great number of people left the party in the Krosno Province.

[Answer] Like everywhere else, not everybody could endure. As a result of political pressure, assaults on members of the PZPR, lack of confidence and emotional tensions, some of our comrades left the party. Many of them, however, were valuable people. Some lacked resolve, lost their way, had a poor orientation in the situation and

were unable to oppose themselves to the political enemy. We have been and still are talking with these people. Some returned to the party.

One should look at this issue in a broader framework. Some of the people in the party were accidental, came from the so-called recruitment draft. With these we parted without any qualms.

The provincial party organization in Krosno currently numbers more than 25,000 members and candidates. During the period under report, 7,613 persons left the party. At the same time, however, we excluded about 500 individuals for lack of activity, as well as for attitudes incompatible with party membership. Numerically, we are smaller organization, but we are not at all weaker, as one might think. Just the opposite. We are more united, better disciplined and stronger ideologically in our views and actions. The majority of the people who remained in the party are people with a strong personality and deep convictions, people ready--as was the case after the introduction of martial law--to be wherever the party wanted them.

[Question] Let us return for a while to debates at the provincial conference in June 1981. It was said then among journalists and not only among them, that Wojtal was elected--incidentally, by secret, most democratic vote--because he was well known in the province as a demanding factory director, professional that maintained daily contacts with the employees.

[Answer] I'd rather not talk about myself.

[Question] There must be some truth to it, though, and certain skills and habits must still be there. For instance, the fact that Wojtal, no longer director, but first secretary of the Provincial Committee, is frequently in the field--at factories, in communities and organizations--talking to people, probing their opinion, and by no means all these talks are pleasant and smooth. You frequently bring from these field trips a lot of complaints, claims and suggestions, plus the fact that you personally see visitors. Do you have enough time?

[Answer] Not always, but these contacts are very important. They allow me to get a feel of the prevailing sentiment, the actions at enterprises, institutions and party organizations, correct our image of the individual aspects of life and call attention to phenomena that remained in the shade. Public opinion, which in the past was ignored or merely declared to be considered, is in fact an important tool for understanding the daily life of the nation or a region. In addition, an increasing number of letters are now received by the provincial committee and local party agencies which contain not only complaints but specific proposals for various solutions; each plenary session, each meeting of the Executive Board is preceded by probes and inspection of the issues to be discussed by specially appointed commissions. As a result it is no longer an exception that a report or

recommendation originating from an administrative agency is rejected.

[Question] For example?

[Answer] The program of agricultural development in the Carpathian region, which was presented during the meeting of the Provincial Committee Executive Board, but was returned to be reworked.

[Question] You are, therefore, a resolute opponent of improvised actions and campaigns?

[Answer] Absolutely. We are alerting the party leaders and organizations to phenomena of this kind which, unfortunately, still occur sometimes.

[Question] That is to say, for the party, to restore its trustworthiness, it must act responsibly itself? Then one will be able to speak of party prestige. Do you believe that the party is restoring its prestige and authority?

[Answer] I would say an untruth if I said that it has retrieved its prestige. The truth is, however, that it is restoring it, and, in this case, I'd like to support this general statement with specific examples.

One of the criteria of the growth of trust in the party and its prestige, as I have said before on other occasions, is the attitudes towards the institution of complaints and grievances. Increasing numbers of people currently come to party agencies and organizations with their life problems. The provincial committee alone in 1982 received 225 letters and 525 visitors. People coming to party agencies frequently come to it as a last resort....

In the period under review, we have admitted as candidates for party membership 77 persons, most of them after 13 December 1981. Most of these people are workers and young people who would not join the party if they didn't have trust in it. Besides, we try to enlist participation of all kinds of people who did not remain indifferent to what is going on in their environment, at their enterprises and in their cities and villages. This cements and consolidates the front of national reconciliation. In Krosno Province, this idea has won recognition. The Provincial Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], three city councils, eight city-district councils and 27 district councils are active in this program, bringing together more than 8,000 activists. They exist not just on paper. People working in these groups try to accomplish change and to correct things. They are helping the elderly and the lonely, discuss the plans of economic development, launch public initiatives and by their prestige and work help our activities.



We see in this movement the force that has major influence on the restoration of public trust. I am confident that this movement will bring together and unify an increasing number of people who want to honestly and diligently work for the community. After all, we all have one goal--people's well-being. The return of the faith that we are capable of pulling Poland out of the crisis, developing proper interpersonal relationships, eliminating the shortages of everyday life.

A special problem is trade unions. That they are needed, indispensable--a majority of workers realize that. This is not as simple as it sounds, however. For most, this is still a sore and sensitive subject. The disappointment brought to working people by Solidarity leaders, the memory of the activity of previous CRZV trade unions which left much to be desired, is still fresh and gives rise to doubts. And, although the statute on trade unions is generally met with a positive response, as, after all, it guarantees to the workers the rights which the working class mentioned in their August protest, a great number of people still stay on the sidelines, or just watch. Of the total 350 enterprises and organizations, at 101, initiator groups, founding committees or trade unions are already operative. As of 7 February 1983, the Province Court registered 29 new trade unions, with another five awaiting a court decision. I want to stress, however, that we are just entering upon this road. I don't see any point in competing as to who has recruited more members and registered more new trade unions. The birth of trade union movement is a long process. I am deeply convinced, however, that this is the only way and that a majority of the working class in our province will take it.

The very fact of the improved situation in the province indicates that the barriers of distrust and isolation that existed just a few months ago in areas of party activity are beginning to melt.

The party prestige is acquired by real work for the people and for their good. Those are the kinds of actions we are taking.

[Question] We will return to this later on. I would like to say, in discussing the growth of prestige and trust, that a lot has been said about it during the course of the reports campaign. This is not accidental, for if the party wants to be trusted, wants to enjoy an authority, its members must completely identify themselves with it.

[Answer] This was a totally different campaign. First of all, it was free of the nature of the proverbial "chorus of good wishes." Each organization and agency develops its own prestige. Proceeding from this premise, people discussed how to resolve problems in their particular communities. These were proposals to be discussed at village meetings, conferences of public organizations, units of ZSL, ZMW and ZSMP, sessions of people's councils, as well as ideas flowing from people's own deliberations.

On the basis of these criteria, frequently after critical discussions, individual programs for overcoming the crisis came to life. It is good that the party organizations initiate solutions for problems in their communities. This concerns economic matters involved in implementation of the reform, land use, efforts to counter the decline in livestock breeding, new lines of industrial production for the needs of agriculture, work on free Saturdays.... It was a frank, genuine party-spirited talk about the current problems and about people.

A characteristic trait of the campaign was the sensible change in the activities of party agencies and organizations. Periodicity of meetings has improved. Documentational and organizational matters have been straightened out. The feeling of responsibility of the individual PZPR members and entire organizations for the communities in which they are active has grown. We have a good aktiv, including more and more young people. The role of basic PZPR units has increased. I must add, however, that despite the growing number of efficient party organizations, we still have quite a few weak units and members who see themselves as extra actors and do not become involved in the work of their party organizations.

[Question] What are the communities in which such things are observed? Does it happen only in villages?

[Answer] Not only. This can also be seen at small enterprises, institutes, at some cultural and educational agencies. Return to activity is too slow there. We have a program of assistance to such organizations and are sending experienced activists to them.

At any rate, we conclude now our midterm reports campaign with concrete accomplishments. As regards the principle that for the party no matters are more important than those which concern people, be it at an enterprise or at the place where members live or work, the only difference that can be there is between things which we can accomplish today, which we can afford, and things which we will do tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, because now we are simply incapable of doing them. On this basis, we have determined the so-called top priorities which must and should be done first.

[Question] Was one such priority the building of bakeries?

[Answer] One must live and work in an area to know what the people's biggest concerns are. We constantly heard grievances and complaints about shortages of baked products. We had enough flour, but bread instantly disappeared from the shelves. We had a shortage of so-called processing capacities. One can live with something else, with something that one can buy later on and can wait for, but you cannot live with the shortage of bread, this staple food product. We set before the government and trade administrations the task of building new, not necessarily large, bakeries. In the WZSL sector, bakeries in Bukowksie

and Rymanowo have been put into operation, and the construction of a bakery at Jasenica Rosielna is nearing completion. In 1982, the construction of bakeries in Humniski and Skolyshyn were started, and in the current year they will be built in Krosno and Lipinki.

WSS built in 1982 two large bakeries in Jaslo and Sanok. Within a short time, we will be able, so to speak, to forget about the problem of bread.

An acute problem is also the base of the health services. Major efforts have been invested in resolving this problem. In September 1981, the specialized industrial commission for health services in Krosno was created, which was a coordinator of the activity of health service units in the industry. The base of a majority of factory health centers, particularly at Autosan Sanok Bus Factory [SFA], Polmo Shock Absorber Factory and PKS in Krosno is now better.

The oncology and surgery department with an operating room has been completed in Brzozow, and a hospital with an economic base in Ustrzyki Dolne. The building of a health center in Niebockie has been completed, as well as the renovation of the building for tuberculosis outpatient care in Jaslo, maternity home in Biecz and ambulance service in Ustrzyki Dolne. Work is continuing on the building of the Provincial Hospital in Krosno, and hospital buildings in Krosno and Lesek. Modernization is under way of the health center in Jasinowo, an alcoholism and drug treatment unit in Krosno, a department for chronic diseases in Potok and an economic base in Brzozow. Documentation for developing the base of hospitals in Krosno and Sanok and a home of public assistance in Moczary are under development.

[Question] These are indeed comforting items, especially as this concerns investment in health services which had always been treated as a low priority.

[Answer] We too have such a "historical" project. It is the children's sanitarium with 300 beds in Rymanowo Zdroju. Work is continuing there, and I believe that this project will be brought to completion.

[Question] The situation with housing construction, however, is still bad. Waiting lists for apartments are becoming longer. What is obtained as a result of control of occupied lodgings is ridiculously little. At the same time, they say that a great number of families and individuals possess two, three or even four apartments. On top of the slow pace of building of new housing ...

[Answer] The backlogs that we have now did not arise today. They are due to a number of factors, as well as consequences of previous years. Labor productivity in construction, like in the rest of the economy, has decreased. There are problems with the shortages of equipment, personnel, materials, etc. The housing problem at the current juncture is the most

important one for us, today and in the coming years. We can expect a considerable improvement as soon as the entire economy emerges from the crisis, when shortages of materials will no longer curb industrial, private and cooperative construction. For the meantime, all we want is to make sure that our building plans are fulfilled.

A certain proportion of apartments that were occupied fictitiously have been recovered and given to the most needy. Certainly there are individuals who have two and three apartments, and people are talking about that. But we cannot act on the basis of rumors. We need specific information, and we are asking for such reliable signals.

[Question] In Krosno Province, we also hear favorable news on good operation of industry. At the same time, the lines in front of stores are not becoming shorter. Frequently they start to form late at night the day before....

[Answer] Those are not lines for food. Yet, as early back as in 1981, we could not provide enough to cover food allotments such as meat, sugar and butter. The situation has become stabilized after lifting of rationing for soap and detergents. There is, on the other hand, a huge demand for consumer goods whose output, with the enormous amounts of cash in circulation, is still too small.

Our own industrial output has now stabilized itself. But we are far from the productivity of 1979. In 1981, there was a substantial deterioration of the economic state due to advancing anarchy and loosening of discipline. Another cause of decreased output was the shortening of the working time without any compensating productivity growth.

Introduction of the martial law had a positive influence on order and work discipline. However, difficulties of supply and cooperation resulted in further output decline in the first half of 1982.

[Question] How about the economic reform?

[Answer] Not all enterprises understand the meaning of reform completely. If productivity grows, say, 2 percent, and wages 20 to 25 percent, that means that we are still living on credit. True, it is not like this everywhere. For example, Reagan's restrictions caused our technologists, designers and workers to seek new solutions. We have put into operation the production of previously imported spare parts in Krosno Glass Works. Materials previously bought for dollars are being replaced with domestic materials at Polmo Shock Absorber Factory, Stomil Rubber Plant and oil refineries in Jaslo and Jedlice.

Initiatives of enterprise staffs who undertake to work on free Saturdays are valuable.

Reform is most advanced at larger enterprises, but even that is not yet what should be. The thing is for everybody to understand that goods which we buy are made by us and that we can distribute only as much as we have. Many have still not grasped this basic truth.

[Question] We have talked about the good atmosphere prevailing in the province. Except for the closure --and that for a short time--after 13 December 1981 of one enterprise, the Polmo Shock Absorber Factory, the past year was quiet in the Krosno Province, although there was no shortage of problems for anybody. Life is hard. There are many aggravations and frustrations, but above all, people want peace and quiet. Can one, therefore, speak about some grounds for optimism?

[Answer] Certainly. The market contributes greatly to the prevailing sentiment as well. True, it is still shaky, but definite signs of improvement are already visible. For instance, in the fact that output decline has stopped, the list of available food items is growing, procurement of milk and meat has become rhythmical and the reform is beginning to show effects.... We must have some patience, wait.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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TORUN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

First Secretary Zenon Draminski's Interview

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 26 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Zenon Draminski, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee (KW) in Torun by Teresa Slocinska; date and place not specified]

[Text] Next Monday, 31 January, the provincial reports conference will be held, which will bring to a conclusion the reports campaign that has been going on in the Torun province party organizations since September of last year. We are talking today with comrade Zenon Draminski, first secretary of the PZPR KW, on how the campaign is going and some of the problems connected with it.

[Question] Teresa Slocinska: Please say a few words on how the party reports debate in Torun province has been going.

[Answer] Zenon Draminski: I think that on the whole we can be satisfied with the campaign. The meetings in most of the organizations were reasonably well-attended and were well-prepared. The District Party Organizations (OOP) and the Primary Party Organizations (POP) evaluated their own work and most of them also assessed the implementation of resolutions and motions from the preceding program-electoral campaign, and also--though to a lesser degree--reported on the execution of Ninth Congress resolutions and the subsequent Central Committee (KC) plenums.

During the discussions at the meetings 867 motions were submitted, of which 25 percent were proposals to improve party work and the rest pertained to the economy and living conditions. There was also a great deal of discussion at the reports conferences at the primary level. Here most of the utterances (there were over 600 of them) and motions, of which 304 were submitted, related to raising the level of party activity. Particular emphasis was placed on consolidating the party elements in communities, consolidating party ranks and stimulating them to greater activity, the attitudes of party members, increasing the role and standing of party meetings, and improving training. The necessity of bringing young people into the party was heavily stressed.

Undoubtedly the campaign's value was that it brought the party elements closer to the daily matters of the workforces of the home plants, mainly by taking up those problems which evoke dissatisfaction and criticism. If, however, I were to speak about the weaknesses of the campaign, the greatest one was that although needs and aspirations were determined, not everywhere were the means and methods to satisfy them defined.

[Question] The campaign brought a large number of new motions and desiderata. But what has been the fate of those which were submitted in connection with the fourth provincial program-electoral conference in 1981, most of which were incorporated in the conference's resolution?

[Answer] The provincial committee for implementing this resolution, which was formed from the pre-congress provincial commission, was to see that they were put into effect. The committee was interested primarily in tasks relating to an improvement in the living conditions of the inhabitants--tasks which the Provincial Administration was to execute. The accomplishment of these tasks deserves a separate, detailed discussion, but I will, of necessity, limit myself to certain general comments.

It may be said that execution of the resolution and postulates in the field of agriculture, small-scale industry, crafts, and investment policy is relatively the best, under the circumstances. I am referring here mainly to certain organizing and planning moves, for example, establishing a Regional Land Reclamation Enterprise, setting up an "information bank" offering craftsmen materials and tools for sale, or preparing a program to eliminate the backlog in allied construction and development of land for residential construction. These are only examples; there were more such measures.

But execution of tasks in the field of investment is worse. There is no need to explain why, for the reasons lie in our economic situation. We were able to begin construction of three schools--at Rubinkow in Torun, in the Ksiazka gmina, and in Radzyn Chelminski; a hospital annex in Grudziadz; and to ensure that the plan for the current year and the next three years will include the construction of other schools and a children's hospital in Torun. Naturally this does not satisfy public needs, but some of the tasks must be postponed until after 1985. This pertains also to municipal management, for example, the construction of streetcar and bus stations in Torun and Grudziadz.

We attached a great deal of weight to control over how individual suggestions were dealt with. The commission members reached several dozen people directly who submitted suggestions in order to get their opinions. It was determined that some of the answers that they received from offices and institutions were formulated generally without actually investigating the feasibility of putting the specific proposals into effect. Ten of the suggestions were sent back for another examination.

The inspecting commission believes that the degree of implementation of the resolution and suggestions received at the fourth conference is generally inadequate. It believes that more problems could be solved if the approach to them on the part of the state and economic administration were less formal and bureaucratic. Sometimes it actually seems that a pretext for giving a "no" reply is sought, giving the crisis most often as an excuse. We should--although this will not be easy--be able to work out methods in the party which will allow us to clearly differentiate between suggestions that are not being implemented for objective reasons, and those that are not being implemented because of ordinary neglect, disregard, or incompetence. One thing is certain: it must be the duty of all those whom the party recommends for positions to thoroughly examine and honestly implement suggestions submitted by the people.

[Question] Comrade, how do you assess the present condition of the provincial party organization?

[Answer] In comparison with the pre-martial law period, the party in our province has become better able to function normally and it has begun to do so. That is, that particular elements and many members--still not all--have begun to work in compliance with the principles of the statute and the requirements dictated by what is going on in the country and their own communities. The observance, understanding and appreciation of the necessity for ideological unity and organizational cohesiveness is more widespread throughout the party membership, which is, after all, an indispensable requisite in the party's fulfillment of a leadership role in society. It is also important that we are seeing a greater respect for resolutions, those of the superior echelons and our own, which is revealed in more consistent accountability for their implementation. The same pertains to suggestions.

But although we are consolidating organizationally and becoming stronger in our practical actions, it would still be difficult to say today that we are able to conduct a completely effective ideological and political struggle. True, this has become greatly complicated by our present economic situation which is not conducive to our reaching the people with specific reasons and which constitutes a strong argument on the side of the opponents. I am convinced that a determined implementation of Fourth Congress party resolutions and the economic decisions being made in our country will deprive the opposition of these arguments.

I would like to augment this short description of our provincial party organization with one more comment. The fact that a certain number of members still remain outside the mainstream of the party worries and disturbs us. I have in mind those people, especially from the workers and peasants communities, who have still not been able to recover from the experiences of the recent past, and the comrades who served the party for many years and were unjustly sidetracked. We believe that we must not lose these people. Another unfavorable occurrence is the lack of sufficient understanding between certain older, in experience, and younger party activists. The older activists accuse the younger ones of lack of experience, and the younger ones accuse the older ones of too-rigorous adherence to old work methods. It is very urgent that an integration of the aktiv take place where this is occurring, that there be an understanding that the only criteria of mutual evaluation should be the relationship to the party's policies and the willingness to put these policies into effect.

[Question] Where are the party elements weaker or stronger, and in which circles should the party's influence be strengthened?

[Answer] We should begin with this: that the size of particular elements is not directly proportional to the effectiveness of their operation. There are well-operating small organizations, and the converse is also true. This depends in large measure on the competence of their managements. In general, however, in the large factories the party has returned to itself. We have a relatively large number of weak organizations in the countryside, and insofar as socio-occupational circles are concerned, in the health service and somewhat in the labor cooperatives. A good deal of the fault is ours, for we are not reaching them sufficiently. Among the circles which must be encompassed by broader party influences, we must also mention the scientific, educational and cultural.



[Question] An important indicator of the effectiveness of party elements' actions is the attitude of that portion of the workforce that does not belong to the party, toward these elements. What do we know about this?

[Answer] Where the organizations do not close themselves off in their activities but make themselves a part of the entire plant community they recover their position more successfully. The party elements operating in plants where "Solidarity" was strongly opposed to the party have a difficult task, despite sincere willingness and many actions. There, too, during the campaign, "silent" reports meetings took place.

[Question] We in the party promised ourselves during the discussion before the Ninth Congress that we will eliminate all kinds of improprieties from the work of the party "as they occur". What does experience from the recent period tell us in regard to this?

[Answer] First of all, I think, we should rid ourselves of everything in our party activities which is responsible for the fact that many problems which are the object of a "campaign" are prematurely acknowledged as having been taken care of, or are set aside, or are lost from view. The smugness of some comrades stemming from "achievements" which are really only a small premise of a change for the better, is also dangerous. Also dangerous is the totally unwarranted sense of infallibility that some comrades who are in high positions possess, the extreme sureness of self which causes those who are affected by it to stop observing the basic principle of democracy--calling upon a collective wisdom. May we never return to a state where someone, from the moment he is elected to a position, never has any more questions or doubts, only ready answers. We must also rid ourselves of the still-existing here and there distance between party echelons and members, and between organizations and workforces. From this standpoint we must constantly analyze the party's work style and make the necessary corrections on a current basis, remembering that our primary task is to be with the people, to be of assistance to them.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

#### Regional Means for Party Work

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 28 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (TES): "The Regional Party Work Centers Passed Their First Test"]

[Text] The main task discussed at yesterday's meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee (KW) executive board in Torun, conducted under the chairmanship of the first secretary of the KW, comrade Zenon Draminski, was work with the party echelons and organizations using the largest, insofar as range of activities is concerned, Regional Party Work Center (ROPP), in Brodnica, as an example.

In the broad discussion that developed around this subject it was determined that the ROPPs, which had been formed slightly under a year ago, passed the political test under the difficult and complicated circumstances in which they had to begin their work. The small staff in the centers--two to three people-- was compensated by the high qualifications and wealth of experience of the activists to whom this segment

of party work was entrusted. Thus far, the ROPPs, in accordance with the purpose for which they were formed, have concerned themselves mainly with assisting the primary party echelons, which, after the elections in 1981, were composed of a number of new people who did not have the skills indispensable to political work. The perceptible increase in activity in many echelons is in large measure due to the work of the ROPPs, which, with the participation of appointed consultative-advisory groups, organized problems training and consultations, explaining the party's policies, the substance of the resolutions of the superior echelons, and advised them in the implementation of the tasks ensuing for them from these resolutions. They also played an important role as an element of bilateral transmission of information.

The question now arises as to what further task should be assigned to the ROPPs, and in what way they can be made a permanent part of the party structure. The members of the executive board made a number of proposals on this subject. For example, it was proposed that they concern themselves in the immediate future with raising the level of the village organizations, which are the weakest party elements at this time--that they become centers of ideological and political struggle in the area. Another important task for the ROPPs should be the development of an effective system of bringing political information to the party rank and file, particularly in the villages. The jurisdiction of the ROPPs and the status of their directors, must be determined, in writing, by the highest party authorities. The directors of the centers present at the meeting were obligated to expand their work by the proposed forms of activity.

The executive board was also informed about the status and changes in the composition of the provincial party organization during 1982 and the province's economic situation last year. Staff problems were also examined.

#### Reports Conference Deliberations

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 1 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Summary of deliberations of PZPR Provincial Reports Conference in Torun, reported by J. Slominska, T. Slocinska and R. Buczek]

[Text] Yesterday in Torun the Polish United Workers Party Provincial Reports Conference was held. The provincial party organization, numbering over 4,300 members and candidates, was represented at the conference by 328 delegates. They made an assessment of the state of the provincial party organization, the degree to which it has implemented the program of the PZPR Ninth Congress and its own reports-electoral conference, and received proposals for work in the second half of the provincial leadership's term of office. The deliberations were conducted by the PZPR Provincial Committee (KW) first secretary, Zenon Draminski.

The conference was attended by representatives of the central authorities, including: Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR; Maj Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski, member of the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON), Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection; Bogdan Jachacz, director of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the Central Committee;

and Grzegorz Sokolowski, deputy director of the Central Committee Culture Department. Among the guests at the conference were the following representatives of the provincial authorities: Stanislaw Trokowski, governor of Torun; Alojzy Tujakowski, chairman of the Provincial People's Council (WRN); Zofia Kalisz, chairman of the Provincial Committee (WK) of the United Peasant Party (ZSL); Andrzej Grudzinski, secretary of the WK of the Democratic Party (SD); Col (Academy Graduate) Kazimierz Chudy, Committee for National Defense (KOK) plenipotentiary; Zenon Marcinkowski, commandant of the provincial Citizens Militia (MO); and others. Also present were representatives of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), social and youth organizations.

The conference was opened with speeches made by the following: Zenon Draminski, KW first secretary; Edward Grzymowicz, chairman of the PZPR Provincial Revision Commission (WKR); and Barbara Marczuk, chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission (WKKP). The delegates also received a large amount of reports materials.

Our reporters have submitted the following report on the conference.

#### The KW First Secretary's Speech

Eighteen months have passed since the last provincial reports-electoral conference in Torun. Even at that time most party members--comrade Zenon Draminski said--were aware that a political struggle is taking place, forced upon the PZPR by the opposition forces. It was also generally believed that the enemies of socialism will not stop there but will attempt to take power. The PZPR began a political struggle, using all measures to enable the people to live in peace. The imposition of martial law began the process of normalization of public life.

During martial law the provincial organization overcame the ideological and political crisis, and restored ideological unity based on the Ninth Congress. The oppositionists, the people who were not ideologically linked with the party, left the party ranks. The purging process is still going on.

During the last reports campaign political and party activeness in matters of social and economic policy intensified. What was most important was the fact that at most of the conferences and meetings problems relating to improvement of intraparty and ideological-upbringing work were considered and examined. Without a doubt, the negative aspect was the poor attendance at many meetings and conferences, the failure of party members to take part in the discussion, or to take part in the discussion only to criticize.

A year and a half ago the provincial organization had 50,758 members and candidates. The current figure is 43,543. The fact that the number of workers dropped from 22,000 to 17,500 is disturbing. The share of peasants declined by 3.2 percent, while the share of intellectuals grew by 1.8 percent. We observe an inequality in the activeness of party organizations. This is most apparent in the villages, where initiatives are often undertaken by a single individual, by the primary party organization (POP) secretary, or by a very small aktiv. One of the positive aspects is undoubtedly the growth in initiative on the part of the local and provincial echelons.

In the context of the above facts and the assessment of events in the political and social life of the country and in the region, and in the party itself, the following tasks face the Torun organization:

--intensification of efforts to consolidate party unity (in Torun, a group of activists of the so-called horizontal structures, voicing a thesis on the spontaneity of the movement and also that it alone is able to democratize the party, took a dangerous turn to the right, actually undermining party unity, weakening party discipline and fragmenting the party);

--further strengthening the genuine ties of the party echelons and apparatus with the working class, preserving the favorable aspects from the period of martial law, stimulating the party circles in behalf of national accord, but also in behalf of a struggle with the political enemy.

In ideological work action must be based on rapid and honest information, suggestive and communicative propaganda, comprehensive and directed political training, and direct influence on social circles, above all, on the technical intellectuals, education and science workers, school youth, creative intellectuals, and workforces in the large industrial plants (youth). These are the circles that are most keenly penetrated by the opposition.

The party has an important task to fulfill in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Most of all, the participation of the young in this movement must be increased. At the moment, they make up 15 percent of this movement. The political activity of the movement is gaining civic rights too slowly. It is essential that all actions which would make PRON a form of active co-representation of citizens in the country's sociopolitical life be supported.

This movement should become part of the process of representing the opinions and desires of society through: development of a social model of contacts and a system of social consultation; acting as an intermediary in disputes between the authorities and society and between particular groups of citizens; assuming the function of an organizer of elections for the Sejm and people's councils.

The participation of the provincial party organization in the implementation of economic policy is also important. What does the provincial economy have?

Since August of last year there has been a gradual growth in production, although this growth (12 percent of sold production) was attained at an excessive growth in wages of over 21 percent. Production costs are rising and a pressure on price increases is being seen. Low grain procurement (only 60 percent of the plan is being fulfilled) is also disturbing.

To restore socioeconomic stability, an increase in labor productivity must have first priority. Most of the initiative in this area is shown by "Warma", "Ema-Apator", and "Towimor". However some party organizations show apathy in undertaking and solving economic matters.

The primary task for enterprises is that of maintaining a production growth tendency, surmounting raw and other materials and employment obstacles. There is still much that can be done in adapting the structure of production and services in enterprises in favor of agriculture, and in the development of agro-food processing (this is directed at AGROMET-UNIA Agricultural Machinery Factory, POLCHEM [expansion unknown], SPOMASZ Food industry Machinery and Equipment Factory, and MEPROZET Enterprise for Mechanization of Animal Production.

We also see other disturbing phenomena in the economy of the province. From January to October of last year, over 11 percent of the working time in enterprises was idle time. It is essential, therefore, that there be better organization of work, and thus a growth in discipline, shift rotation (not excluding introduction of a third shift and work on free Saturdays). Calculations show that the time actually worked by one worker in 1982 was over 150 hours shorter than in comparison with 1979.

Better utilization of work resources is very essential. There are factories in which an increase in employment can be seen, particularly among nonproductive workers, while in others, such as MERINOTEX [expansion unknown] and STOMIL [expansion unknown], there are shortages. In Torun province last year approximately 6,000 job vacancies were recorded, while there were 205 persons registered and seeking these jobs. It is estimated that industry is short about 2,000 workers, construction 1,000, trade 300, and the municipal economy, 260. The shortage applies primarily to male workers. Last year for 1 man seeking work there were 28 vacancies, and for 1 woman, 8 vacancies.

To achieve economic stability the drastic growth in wages and other monetary benefits must be reduced. This fact should reach the awareness and direct the actions of all party members.

The party organizations should be more interested in the actions of the workers' self-governments as well as in those of the trade unions. Up to 27 January 111 unions were registered in Torun province, and 129 have applied for registration.

The party program should be a workforces' program, and in order for this to happen the primary organizations must be more active. They must honestly assess the situation in their own community and the social forces in the workplace.

The village party organizations, comrade Draminski emphasized, should show the same activeness. The success of the program to feed the nation depends on the implementation of agricultural policy. Agricultural policy is not just an intraparty act between the leaderships of the PZPR and ZSL. It must be reflected in the constant collaboration of these elements in the gmina, in cooperation, and in joint responsibility.

#### Reports of the WKR and WKKP

Edward Grzymowicz, chairman of the Provincial Revision Commission, presented a report of its work. In the assessment of the WKR, the activity of the provincial party organization proceeded in accordance with the principles of the statute. It was emphasized that in its work the Provincial Committee called particular attention to facts and aspects violating the principles of socialist public justice and proprieties in the functioning of the state and economic administration. The deficiencies indicated pertained to sometimes improper implementation by some elements of motions and postulates submitted during the discussion prior to the Ninth Congress and during the course of the program-electoral campaign in 1981.

The chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission, Barbara Marczuk, in her speech called attention to some problems connected with party activity in the province, discussing them in the context of WKKP tasks. The most important of them, she said, was the struggle for the party's ideological and organizational identity, reaction to all deviations from the principles of Marxism and Leninism. Aware of the public

repercussion of its decisions, WKKP will fulfill its tasks in this area with the indispensable resoluteness, but also with maximum concern for fully just settlements. B. Marczuk also stressed WKKP's preventative and upbringing role as regards systematic examination and assessment of circumstances occurring in some communities that are more susceptible to the influences of ideological opponents, and also, to the establishment of a sense of responsibility in party members for honest work in the positions entrusted to them. Staffing policy is a subject of special interest to WKKP; the commission believes there should be greater consistency in observing all of the required criteria, including a position of active acceptance by the management staff of the political principles of our state.

#### The Governor's Speech

The Torun Province governor, Stanislaw Trokowski, devoted his speech mainly to an evaluation of the implementation of motions from the reports-electoral conference, directed to the Provincial Office.

--We have accomplished the tasks assigned with various results, the governor said. Of 36 tasks, only three were not begun, and the rest are already fulfilled or are being fulfilled. In agriculture, for example, we have been finally able to eliminate the effects of the 1980 floods. However, the reconstruction of water and land reclamation facilities absorbed so much money that a regression in land reclamation investments occurred. Investments are four times less than is needed. Implementation of the program for supplying water to the villages is seriously threatened. To fully execute this program, 16 billion zlotys are needed, while only 170 million zlotys are available. Local industry has not been reactivated for the old enterprises and local plants prefer to retain their present organizational forms. Thus this industry must be created from anew.

The situation in the health service continues to be difficult. The construction of a hospital annex in Grudziadz was not begun until September 1982. It is expected that construction of a childrens' hospital in Torun will begin in 1984, and construction of an isolation annex at the Provincial Group Hospital will not begin until 1985. Modernization work on the operating-rooms section of the hospital in Brodnica will be begun this year. Only after 1985 can we expect to see essential progress in investments in the health service. This will also be revealed in the start of construction of a 650-bed hospital in Grudziadz.

Implementation of investments in municipal and residential construction is proceeding with difficulty. There will be an improvement in the heating system in the housing settlements in Torun and Grudziadz. There were no changes for the better in construction in the villages. We are able to counteract the depreciation of old housing resources far too inadequately. Aside from the obvious obstacles, the extremely slow changes in management methods and utilization of local resources are also an impediment.

#### Plenary Discussion

A discussion began, in which the following took part: Apolonia Gorska, employee of STOMIL in Grudziadz; Feliks Szajerka, farmer from Rogozno gmina; Zenon Marcinkowski,



commandant of the provincial MO; Maksymilian Sikorski, Local Party Organization (TOP) No 7, Torun, activist; Bogdan Bartoszewski, managing director of FERMBET [expansion unknown] in Golub-Dobrzyn; Marian Pawlikowski, Factory Committee (KZ) first secretary at Lasin State Farms; Tadeusz Dabrowski, city schools director in Chelmza; Witold Orłowski, City Committee (KM) secretary in Grudziadz; Jozef Szymanski, PZPR KM first secretary in Torun; Jerzy Polaszewski, forest inspector from Dobrzejewic; Marian Słebioda PZPR KZ first secretary in ELANA Synthetic Fibers Mill; Janusz Majtczak, chairman of the Agricultural Producer Cooperatives (RSP) in Gorzno; Marian Urbanski, employee at Nicholas Copernicus University (UMK); Stanislaw Sniegocki, chairman of the board of the Scientific Society for Organization and Management Chapter; Genowefa Pytko, farmer from Pluznica gmina; Zbigniew Rygielski, chairman of the City Party Control Commission (MKKP) in Grudziadz; Mirosław Gajdowski, farmer from Zławies Wielka gmina; Jerzy Czarnotta from Kurzetnik; Ryszard Ulatowski, PZPR KZ secretary from the Pomeranian Metalworking and Enameling Plant in Grudziadz; Franciszek Dychton, farmer from Pluskowesa village; Jan Polak, craftsman from Wapielsk; Roman Szulczewski, from the City-Gmina Committee in Kowalewo; Stefan Czubak, farmer from Kowalewo gmina; and Eugeniusz Czyz, president of the Provincial Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations (WZEKiOR).

Effectiveness of party actions, attitudes of PZPR members toward tasks facing them--these were the problems that repeated themselves in many of the speeches. The tenants should be able to put their own house in order, Felix Szajerka, a farmer from Rogozno gmina said. The residents in the villages should maintain order there. Instead of complaining about how bad it is, methods for working better should be sought, and those who do not do their work should be brought to account.

The party organizations should give inspiration for such actions. They should create a climate of commitment and responsibility. It is their duty to come out against all improprieties and protect that people who are active in fighting evil. We have proof that where a rural party organization reacts to damaging occurrences in public life these occur far less often. The party elements in the villages should accomplish these tasks in broad cooperation with ZSL, the self-governments, social organizations and PRON.

Attention was called to the importance of the reports campaign in consolidating the party and making it more active. The party organization, Witold Orłowski from Grudziadz said, have come closer to the communities in which they function, and have concerned themselves with concrete matters of the workforces. It is also important that party members are beginning to look more and more and specific problems from the viewpoint of their personal participation in overcoming them.

The commandant of the provincial MO, Col Zenon Marcinkowski, called attention to the deep ideological-upbringing effects of party action in the Citizens' Militia and Security Service circles.

Despite the strong pressure which was applied on the organs of order and safety at the inspiration of the enemy, they remained faithful to the party ideals and frequently under very difficult conditions performed and continue to perform their duties. If the Citizens' Militia is to effectively combat crime and different forms of social deviation, and also oppose the actions of the enemy underground that threaten stability, continued support from society is essential, the speaker stressed.

Among the negative aspects of party activity the multiplicity of documents was noted (Jerzy Podlaszewski)--programs, resolutions, etc., which in the opinion of the speaker tend to blur their importance. Party echelons, including those at the top, should concentrate their attention on inspection of implementation of the Ninth Congress resolution, and not unnecessarily multiply the number of documents.

In many utterances, problems of upbringing kept coming up. Among the aspects which are disturbing to us, the older people, said Maksymilian Sikorski, from Local Party Organization No 7 in Torun, is that of the consumer attitude of some of the young people. The young demand, unfortunately, that their standard of living be immediately the same as that which one achieves after years of intensive work. Tadeusz Dabrowski from Chelmza stressed the need for building a uniform upbringing front.

The divergences now present in this regard between the school and the home and factory environment of the youth make it difficult for them to make a correct choice of values and to morally assess what the young hear from the adults. The speaker referred to the attitudes of those teachers who do not want to remember that they are bringing up their students to be citizens in a socialist state. A program for preparing a teaching cadre is indispensable, for the existing cadre shortages mean that teaching work is now often in the hands of people who are not fully qualified.

Many comrades referred to the need to improve intraparty work. Comrade Jozef Szyman-ski called attention to the fact that in the reports materials there is no relevant analysis of the derogatory aspects that the inspection and re-inspection by the Armed Forces Inspectorate revealed. One of our basic party duties now is to coordinate the interests of our own plant with the society-wide interests. We have not made full use of the reports campaign, Apolonia Gorska said, to make all party members active. We are not making a full accounting of all of the duties and responsibilities that we have assumed. We know in the party what needs to be done, we know how to plan, Marian Slebioda said. But we do not know the answers, how this program is to be implemented. Marian Urbanski called attention to the fact that too often the suggestions of the comrades and the party organizations are dismissed with the statement that they are not possible to put into effect at this time.

These are often only ostensible inabilities, the speaker said. More thorough analyses are needed to formulate a reply to a suggestion. We must also more often go back to the resolution of the PZPR Ninth Congress, for we are already "forgetting" what it binds us to. Yet it not only directs that the economy be reformed but that the mechanisms of the political system be improved. We should more decisively and openly coordinate our socioeconomic goals and the methods for their implementation with the people, improve the system of people's councils, and make social control more efficient. Also, our party control is not always very effective. M. Urbanski also postulated that a weekly be established in Torun.

Many of the speeches were devoted to problems of economic reform. M. Slebioda stated that economic reform also depends on the management staffs, on their attitudes. And yet not all of the management staff familiarize themselves with the requirements of the new policy. The party organizations must also take notice of this problem in the places of work, in the institutions. Only a well-prepared staff, on which supplements its knowledge, Stanislaw Sniegocki said, can improve the organization of work and the functioning of enterprises.



Many farmers took the floor during the conference. They spoke most of all about the barriers restricting the development of the farm industry. Janusz Majtczak demanded that it be made possible for farmers to profitably purchase and cultivate the lands of poorer quality. He also proposed that equal conditions be created for construction in all sectors, and that commission stations be organized at which spare parts for farm machinery could be procured or sold. Mirosław Gajdowski proposed that land be sold from the State Land Fund to the highest bidder and not at state prices. This, in his opinion, will prevent land speculation. Franciszek Dychton said that full reserves in agriculture are still not being utilized, that water-drainage equipment is being poorly maintained, and farm machinery and equipment is not being fully utilized. Poor management and organization of trade means that the farmer is spending too much time standing in various lines, traveling from place to place, and too often farm crops are being hauled long distances throughout the country, resulting in large losses. Jan Polak stressed the need to develop the crafts which serve agriculture. There are not enough blacksmiths and carpenters.

Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took the floor in the discussion.

#### Comrade Manfred Gorywoda's Speech

The Central Committee secretary said that the rapidly progressing process of strengthening the party after the upheavals of 1980-1981 is still not ended. Whether the ideopolitical and organizational crisis will be fully overcome will be dependent on the consistency of the implementation of the reform program outlined by the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress.

The country is harassed by the economic crisis, which has a profound influence on public attitudes. The enemy has not laid down his arms and attempts to interfere in the normalization of socioeconomic life. Full implementation of the party and government program for recovery from the crisis takes time. Its basic element is economic reform. However, application of this reform depends on the intensified effort of all of the people, who should also be aware of the difficulties that arise around this reform. Among these difficulties at present is the growing inflationary process--the unwarranted increase in wages, not tied to an increase in labor productivity; threatens not only a delay in overcoming the crisis, but even another economic collapse. Educating the working people in economics, making them aware of the state of the economy and the requisites for successful reform, should be the object of special attention by PZPR members and party organizations.

The Central Committee secretary reported that a comprehensive program to combat inflation is being prepared, which will be the subject of the Sejm deliberations. Other fields of the national economy are also being put into order. The measures being undertaken to increase the growth rate of the economy and make it more flexible will be verified directly in the workplaces. This will require the participation of everyone, and party members must work particularly hard in their political and organizational work.

#### Conference Resolution

The conference passed a resolution formulating the tasks of the provincial party organization for the remaining term of office.

The most important task, the resolution says, is the struggle for ideological-organizational party unity and the consolidation and development of party ranks. This will require elevation of the role and standing of the Primary Party Organizations, particularly in the countryside, improvement in work with candidates and members who are not experienced, and also improvement in forms and methods of cooperation by party elements with youth organizations.

In political-upbringing activity the resolution recommends--regarding this task as being especially important--that attention be focused on the technical and middle-supervision circles, education and upbringing circles, the academic community, youth in school, the creative intellectuals, and the workforces of those plants in which young people constitute a large number. The resolution also specifies a number of recommendations in the areas of the economy, agriculture and social policy.

We have approved a document, comrade Zenon Draminski said in concluding the deliberations, whose value is based on the fact that it was created jointly by thousands of party members, by the entire provincial organization, during reports and consultative meetings. It places upon us the obligation of fulfilling it through concrete political activity. We will enhance it with the problems that occur and which must be solved on a day to day basis.

The conference was adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale".

#### Social, Economic Plan on Possibilities

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 3 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by (T.WLAD)]

[Text] Yesterday's deliberations of the provincial party echelon's executive board in Torun concentrated mainly on the method of preparation and the substance of the draft socioeconomic plan of Torun province for the current year and the basic aims for the period up to 1985. The detailed document, made available to the members of the executive board, which broadly discusses the draft plan, was supplemented by information presented by the chairman of the Provincial Economic Planning Commission, Jerzy Niedzwiecki.

The present economic situation does not allow us to take all of the needs of the province into account. There are many of them, and it was necessary, therefore, to act selectively, to conduct wide-scale public discussions, so as to be able to include the province's most urgent needs, and the needs of its residents, and to reduce the intentions to the realistic production capabilities of the existing economic potential. The heads of the particular towns and gminas expressed this opinion, and such a course of action was approved also by the social organizations during the community consultations.

There was total unanimity as to the need to accept a variant of a draft plan which would give priority to the development of housing construction and the fulfillment of other municipal requirements, as well as agriculture and the food economy, and the continuation of the most important investments. The activists in the Polish Economic Society addressed themselves critically to the unsufficient treatment, in their opinion, of the problems of environmental protection in the plan. The point at issue here is the omission, for example, of construction of sewage treatment plants, particularly in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie. The comments of the recently formed social consultative council, which works together with the governor, were also very valuable. This group believes that a full report on the state of the province's economy, taking the situation in the particular towns into account, must be prepared. To date, particularly insofar as development of construction is concerned, preference has been given to Torun and Grudziadz. The range of investments in the ministries of education and health services is also too narrow. A similar opinion was expressed by members of the particular commissions of the Provincial People's Council, in discussing the draft plan. The members of the executive board, both in their questions and in the discussion, called attention to the need to guarantee that the tasks foreseen in the plan can be realistically executed. There is such a possibility, and it ensues from the agreements that have been signed. This refers also to the plans for the following years, and principally facilities for the health service--an annex to the children's hospital, a psychiatric hospital in Torun, and the construction of a hospital in Grudziadz.

We see a chance for improvement in housing conditions with the development of municipal and single-family construction.

Addressing himself also to the information submitted by the members of the executive board and their utterances, the first secretary of the PZPR KW, comrade Zenon Draminski stressed the correctness of a system of preparing an economic draft plan based on wide-scale professional consultation, taking into account of the most important needs and tasks, and treating small towns and gminas on a par. The executive board approved this variant of a socioeconomic draft plan, and the councilors at the Provincial People's Council session will make a decision on accepting it.

In the further course of the deliberations the executive board approved a timetable for the implementation of motions of the PZPR provincial reports-program conference.

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JELENNIA GORA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Delegate's Views of Party Conference

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 20 Jan 83 pp 1, 5

[Article by B.O.B.: "We Did Not Become Discouraged"]

[Text] Eugeniusz Socha, milling-cutter foreman from the Fampa Paper Machine Factory in Jelenia Gora, was chosen by the city conference to be a delegate to the Voivodship Reports Conference.

Eugeniusz Socha has had a relatively short party affiliation--since 1977. Earlier, however, he worked in a youth organization. Currently, he is serving as first secretary of the Departmental Party Organization at Fampa. In the conversation, he mentions the most difficult moments for his party.

From August 1980, the attitude toward us, members of the PZPR, was unfavorable. Many nonparty fellow workers in our plant blamed us for what was happening in the country. There were those who considered us to be something worse. The role of the party in the life of the enterprise could not be like it used to be. But we did not become discouraged. We counted on regaining authority by an even more conscientious fulfillment of industrial duties, and an ethical-moral attitude beyond reproach. We tried during this time to ease conflict, we talked a lot with people, and we explained the complicated economic and political situation in the country at the time.

After the declaration of martial law, we actively joined in on the factory issues, we took over a part of the duties of the trade unions, which at the time were suspended, we became interested in the work of the social commission, and we discussed the bases of economic reform and the system of wages.

The departmental organization to which I belong takes an energetic role in the work of the departmental activists. We have considered the most urgent matters to be the achievement of complete unity of the ranks, the conscientious carrying out of party tasks, and a role in the life of the plant. And getting back to the most difficult period for us, I would like to stress that from August 1980 until today, in my departmental organization, party membership cards were turned in by three persons, and I think that the pressure of their surroundings caused such decisions.

From the voivodship conference, I expect, first of all, implementation of the proposals coming in from the ranks. Their voices should be considered to a greater degree than has been the case. I would like, however, to signal the need for greater involvement and greater competence of our voivodship economic activists. On them depends the efficient introduction of economic reform and an easing of everyday burdens. I also have thoughts concerning interparty information. Often, it does not filter down to the lowest ranks or it is very late. This must change.

#### Plenum Before Reports Conference

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 29-30 Jan 83 p 2

[Text] (own information) Members of the KW (Voivodship Committee) of the PZPR in Jelenia Gora met yesterday in a plenary session to make a decision concerning the voivodship party reports conference.

Participants of the meeting obtained written outlines of the two basic texts prepared for the conference: the report of the activity of the KW of the PZPR for the period from June 1981 to January 1983, and the main directions of activity of this echelon in the second half of its term. Both documents, as well as the arguments of the report of the PZPR Executive Board for the conference, were discussed by secretaries of the KW of the PZPR, comrades Sylwester Samol and Boleslaw Plaza.

They stressed the ongoing reconstruction of the ties of the echelon and the party staff with the basic organizations through numerous meetings in work enterprises. They also emphasized the considerable democratization of the decisionmaking processes, expressed, for example, by the broad consultations on the objectives of the resolutions.

Thoughts on the presented materials were offered by four participants in the discussion: inspector of the energy block in the Turow electrical power station in Bogatynia, comrade Henryk Lewandowski, director of the Department of Modernization in the Turow Brown Coal Mine, comrade Wladyslaw Marczukiewicz, foreman in the Nowy Lad anhydrite mine in Niwnice, comrade Wieslaw Krzysztofik, and chief specialist of shipping in the carpet factory in Kowary, comrade Juliusz Burgielski.

The speakers proposed the expansion in the report of the economic theme, concerning among other matters, the nonbeneficial relations between production and work output, and wages, as well as the unsatisfactory rate of development of housing construction.

First secretary of the KW of the PZPR, Jerzy Golis, who conducted the meeting, explained that economic issues will be reflected in additional materials prepared for the conference. Vice Governor Zbigniew Lubkowski referred to several comments of the participants of the plenum discussion.

In a secret ballot, from four alternate members, chosen for the positions of the KW of the PZPR being vacated were: first secretary of the KZ (Works

Committee) of the PZPR in the Turow mine, comrade Witold Gill, and Kamienna Gora Gmina head, comrade Zdzislaw Jaszek. The alternate member group of the KW of the PZPR was filled, also by secret ballot, by the election of director of the Voivodship Division of the Polish National Bank, comrade Tadeusz Gluszczyk, milling cutter from the Fampa Paper Machine factory in Jelenia Gora-Cieplice, comrade Eugeniusz Socha, and ornamentalist in the Julia Crystal Works in Szklarska Poreba, comrade Czeslaw Wiercinski.

Comrade Adam Pierzchala was confirmed for the position of editor-in-chief of the editorial staff of NOWINA JELENIOGORSKI [Jelenia Gora News].

In the resolution, the materials for the conference were accepted, minor corrections were made, and the date of the conference was set for 12 February of this year.

#### Party Reports-Programs Conference Deliberations

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Adam Klykow and Tomasz Szymanski: "Making High Demands for Ourselves Strengthens the Role and Authority of the Party"]

[Text] The third Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference of the Polish United Workers' Party in Lower Silesia took place last Saturday in Jelenia Gora. In the conference hall were 232 delegates representing 29,106 members and candidates of the PZPR.

Guests of the conference came with secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, Waldemar Swirgon. The Council of Ministers was represented by three undersecretaries of state: Miroslaw Jedrzejczak from the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry, Zdzislaw Kuhn from the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry, and Stanislaw Kus from the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry.

Also welcomed were the chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the United Peasants' Party, Jan Farbiszewski, the chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the Democratic Party, Aleksander Kornak, Governor Michal Mierzwa, and from the invited nonparty members: the chairman of the National Provincial Council, Juliusz Jamroz, and chairman of the Voivodship Coordinational Council of PRON, Bohdan Liksztet.

Comrades living and working in Jelenia Gora Voivodship in the central party authorities took part in the meetings. These were CC members, Colonel Tadeusz Jemiolo (plenipotentiary of the Committee for the Defense of the Country, commander of the Higher Officers' School of Radio Engineering), Jozef Jarmala (shift foreman from the Turow Brown Coal Mine), Edward Kazmierski (metalworker in the Luban Enterprises of the Cotton Industry) and Ludwik Palancewicz (private farmer from the village of Plawna) as well as member of the CKKP, Stefan Kempniak (grinder from the Tool Factory in Jelenia Gora) and member of the CKR, Bozena Sikora (director of galvanization in the Lower Silesian Enterprises of Electrical Machines, Karelma, in Piechowice).

A minute of silence was devoted to the memory of delegates to the conference who had died in the past year and a half: Jan Bajda from Olszyna, Mieczyslaw Bienek from Boleslawiec, and Henryk Stachowiak from Jelenia Gora.

Opening the meeting, first secretary of the KW of the PZPR, Jerzy Golis, stated that the concluding reports-programs campaign was an important event. Did it bring about an increase in the unity and aggressiveness of its ranks? How were the tasks resulting from the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and later plenary sessions of the CC, as well as those of the last Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference realized? How should the directions of further activity be enriched? Turning to the assembly, comrade Jerzy Golis requested that in the discussion people look for constructive solutions here in the voivodship, and not limit themselves to demands for money from the state treasury, which as is known, is poor.

The delegates appointed a 32-member presidium of the conference and accepted the agenda and order of debate, discussed earlier at consultational meetings. In addition, they elected a commission of resolutions and proposals.

The report of the Executive Board of the KW PZPR, as an introduction to the discussion, was delivered by comrade Jerzy Golis. In the introduction, he recalled events of the past year and a half which shaped the activity of the party.

"Today, we can state that in Jelenia Gora Voivodship, peace reigned, and reason and rationalism prevailed. This was to a great degree the result of the attitude of the majority of the members of the party, the effect of the considerable consolidation of its ranks. The term "Red Valley", coined for the voivodship by antisocialist underground elements, is a short but good review of our work," the speaker commented.

We must, however, remember that external and domestic opponents are doing everything to poison the atmosphere in the country and ignite fires of discord. They want, above all, to feed on our economic difficulties, counting on a lack of stamina of working people and the pressure of inflationary processes. We cannot ignore this.

The decisive factor for the reconstruction of the authority of the party, the attainment of credibility in this way, and also the elimination of the influence of the political opponent is and will be in the nearest years progress in overcoming the economic crisis. In the economy our biggest problems are accumulating, and the party cannot and does not want to avoid their solution.

Entering into martial law we set for ourselves as a goal the braking of the decline in production and the creation of conditions for its gradual increase. As of the last few months, we are beginning to succeed. The biggest problems at present are shortages in employment; the number of open work positions in the voivodship is 7,000.



Construction is also suffering from personnel problems. Although several dozen more housing units were turned over in 1982 than in 1981, in Jelenia Gora there is no cause for contentedness. Social needs have not been met, even to a satisfactory degree.

Discussing the introduction of economic reform, the speaker directed attention toward certain negative phenomena causing excessive inflation and disorganizing the market. He emphasized that it is necessary to strictly condition earnings of enterprises and wages on real growth in production and on lowering costs.

At the center of the party's attention were also the matters of feeding the nation. In Jelenia Gora, a process of arranging farms and giving them to those who guarantee the biggest yields is continuing. "We are not going to divide agriculture into socialized and private; we are going to divide it into good and bad," accented comrade Jerzy Golis.

The next part of the report concerned interorganizational matters. The reports campaign of the Executive Board KW PZPR was acknowledged as an important step ahead in activating the party.

What next? The most important task still is the strengthening of the role of the party and its authority. In ideological and educational activity, it is necessary, however, to give particular attention to the development of a socialist social consciousness, and "we cannot throw the tasks in this area only to the mass media", we read in the report.

Besides the report, written materials handed to the participants were the basis for discussion at the conference. In this set were, among other reports, the report of the KW PZPR, WKKP [Voivodship Commission for Party Control], and the WKR [Provincial Audit Commission] of activity in the period from June 1981 to January 1983, information on the realization of the proposals recorded during the reports-election campaign two years earlier, the plan of the main directions of activity of the voivodship party organization in the second half of the current term, information on the realization of socioeconomic tasks in Jelenia Gora Voivodship in 1982, and the bases of the voivodship socioeconomic plan for the years 1983-1985.

Participants in the conference also received a special issue of ZBLIZENIE, an informational bulletin of the KW. Moreover, during the discussion, information on the beginning of the meeting and the complete text of the report delivered by Jerzy Golis, were printed up.

Governor Michal Mierzwa spoke first. He started with information on the realization of the 113 proposals addressed in the last reports-election campaign to the Voivodship Office. So far, 55 have been realized. Among other accomplishments, there is no more problem with accepting children for nursery schools, the number of places in preschools increased considerably, the liquid gas bottling works in Rakowice and the municipal sewerage treatment plant in Jelenia Gora were set in motion. Two, concerning construction of large greenhouses in submontane localities with cool climates, and the setting



in motion of a direct railroad connection between Zgorzelec and Lubawaka, are unrealistic.

The governor discussed the bases of the socioeconomic plan of the voivodship for the years 1983-1985. He stated that he is proposing a departure from the traditional formula, "the state gives," to the formula, "the state makes possible." In the realization of the tasks, results will be determined by social initiatives and citizen activity which is compatible with the spirit of reform. The governor accented the activities in the area of environmental protection, especially that of the Sudeten forests from dusts and gases, and of rivers from wastes; this has a direct influence on the health of the population and on supplying it with potable water.

In the estimation of Jozef Jarmala from the Turow mine, the party is regaining confidence too slowly. It is necessary to go to the people more often, speak with them, convince them. And by being a party member, above all, setting oneself high demands should be understood.

Edward Kazmierski from Luban Cotton, enlarged upon the duties which every party member has "at the bottom" in political activity in his social-trade environment. Zygmunt Brusilo, a teacher from Boleslawiec, said among other things that each basic party organization should be evaluated as to how many nonparty members it is able to gather around itself. Jan Czarnecki, a technologist from POLFA Pharmaceutical Plant in Jelenia Gora, shared thoughts on the work of the voivodship audit commission, whose leader, Maria Szulc, a schoolteacher from Luban, discussing the activity of the commission of party control in the area, reminded us of the timeliness of leninist norms of party life.

Assistant Voivodship Commander of the Citizens' Police for matters of the Security Service, Wladyslaw Ziolo, acquainted the assembly with the state of law and order, and public safety.

Director of the voivodship division of the Polish National Bank, Tadeusz Gluszczyk, emphasized the role of economic reform in overcoming the crisis. Kamienna Gora Gmina head, Zczislav Jaszek, and the chief agronomist in the Zgorzelec State Farm, Jacek Majchrowski, devoted their speeches to the complex problems of submontane agriculture. Director of the Boleslawiec Building Enterprise, Wlodzimierz Kuzniewski, presented factors in the development of the housing industry. Polish State Railroads engineer, Franciszek Kaniuk, from Jelenia Gora, pointed to the underinvestment in the railroads. Forest inspector from Swieradow Zdroj, Eugeniusz Jurek, concentrated on the activities of the party in the protection of the natural environment, especially in the fight against ecological disaster in the Sudeten Mountains.

Three comrades: activist of ZBoWiD from Jelenia Gora, Czeslaw Buniewicz, retiree from Kamienna Gora, Jozef Chamerski, and chairman of the Voivodship Union of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, Marian Kwolik, protested the answer of Minister of Internal Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Friedrich Zimmermann, and other members of the government of the FRG, who questioned, among other things, the western borders of Poland.

Guests of the conference: chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the United Peasants' Party, Jan Farbiszewski, and the chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the Democratic Party, Aleksander Kornak, conveyed, from the rostrum, greetings from members of the organizations which they represented, and accented the examples of cooperative society.

Besides the 18 mentioned, 17 other comrades were scheduled for the discussion. They submitted their written speeches and comrade Jerzy Golis gave assurance that all will be published in a special bulletin.

In his speech, secretary of the CC PZPR, comrade Waldemar Swirgon, shared a few opinions and reflections, tying them to the basic themes which were developed in the discussion. He said, among other things:

On the party: "Our party is emerging from the crisis slowly, but stronger. A party with a more experienced activist group, wiser, less arrogant, and less thoughtless is developing--a party which knows that the leading role does not mean messianism or mission, a party which has scientific socialism as its basic activity. In it there is room for discussion on the division of material goods but also discussion on their manufacture. There are objectives, but also proposals for their solutions."

On youth: "It would be self-destructive of the party if we had any impulse, justified or not, toward depreciation of our youth. Every political force condemning its youth curses its own future. Youth has no cause to be against us. Analyses indicate that in a decided majority, they rate most highly the values of socialism--everything which is our ideological and historical heritage."

On economic reform: "The basis of our realism is realism in the economy. Reform is a difficult process and at the same time a necessary one. In the transitional period, deviations will occur, for example, unjustified profits. We will, however, take from them with taxes and a developed fiscal system."

Waldemar Swirgon also spoke about the role of the army in protecting Poland against civil war, about the role of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival in overcoming the social crisis, about the definite need for political battle with the enemies of socialism, and about the state's foreign policy in the current complex international situation. He highly rated the activity of the voivodship party organization in Jelenia Gora.

First secretary of KMG PZPR in Bolkow, Stanislaw Bakalarczyk, proposed in the name of the proposals commission the undertaking of two resolutions. Both were accepted unanimously. In the first resolution, there is a positive evaluation of the realization of the decisions of the Voivodship Reports-Election Campaign from June 1981. The report on the activity of the voivodship party organizations and its echelons--KW, WKKP, and WKR, was accepted, and the arguments of the report of the Executive Board of the KW were approved. The main directions of activity of the voivodship party organization in the second half of its term were accepted for realization, considering the changes occurring in the sociopolitical situation in the country.

In the second resolution, the delegates to the conference and the inhabitants of the western areas, consider it an objective to stress the importance of the current situation in central Europe. This is connected with the statements of several members of the government of the FRG impairing the legal and territorial order established as a result of the victory over German fascism. Solidarity with the resolution of the Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference in Wroclaw was expressed in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the return of Lower Silesia to Poland. "This anniversary will be remembered by the lawful inhabitants of these lands."

Speaking at the closing of the meeting, comrade Jerzy Golis appealed for a consistent realization of the decisions of the conference. There cannot be passive expectation. It is necessary to build on independence and initiative. Particular responsibility weighs on party members filling managerial positions.

The meeting ended with the singing of the Internationale.

9915

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POLAND

## ZIELONA GORA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Executive Board on Production Tasks

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 2 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "From Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR in Zielona Gora"]

[Text] Activities in Favor of the Strengthening of Polish-Soviet Friendship. Production Tasks of Key Plants.

### Realization of Main Investments

Yesterday, in Zielona Gora, the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the PZPR held its meeting.

The Executive Board acquainted itself with assumptions and tasks--in light of the resolutions of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR--in the way of strengthening the Polish-Soviet friendship. A program for propaganda and organization, worked out by the Voivodship Union of the Association for Polish-Soviet Friendship [ZW TPPR] foresees, in the current year, a considerable extension of information activity about the "Country of the Soviets" as well as many cultural shows, exhibitions, lectures and circle meetings with Soviet people and particularly the soldiers of the Northern Group of Soviet Forces [PGWAR]. The association does not claim a warrant for the popularization of Soviet problems, it invites therefore all political and social organizations to take part in organizing a variety of shows. Traditionally, the Festival of Soviet Song, which will take place in the first decade of June in Zielona Gora, has ranked among the most important shows. There are, at present, some important tasks that rest with the association: reactivization of its local circles, especially in places of employment and schools, improvement in cooperation with political and social organizations and development of broad information about the USSR and Polish-Soviet relations.

In the next point, the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee has examined information about economic-production tasks for 1983 in 30 key voivodship enterprises. The majority of the enterprises, in the current year, anticipate growth production ranging from 1 percent to 24 percent, in relation to the last year, whereas 5 enterprises foresee 5 percent decline in

production, chiefly because of raw materials shortage. All enterprises plan very carefully their tasks, hence one cannot consider these tasks as being at the final stage. Higher raw materials supply and manpower, as well as better utilization of internal reserves, may influence considerably the improvement of tasks. Even now, it has been mentioned during the conference, there are some disquieting phenomena. For example, the planned increase in the average wage is frequently higher than the planned decline of proper costs and growth of labor productivity. A few enterprises plan increase in wages while maintaining labor productivity at its prevailing low level. Several enterprise leaderships do not tie either production growth to labor improvement activities or the lowering of the job status of clerk and non-productive workers. It has been stressed, during the conference, that there are still many internal and external reserves for growth production, which are to be utilized in the interest of enterprises and the market.

The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee has acquainted itself with information about the realization of main investments of the national and local plan in 1983. The main investments are as follows: second and third stage in the construction of water-supply for Zielona Gora, construction of the third stage of Zielona Gora's heat and power-generating plant and Zary's bakery, the continuation of large central investments-mineral wool plants in Cigacicach, shving plates in Zary, a set of railway buildings in Czerwinsk and a dairy in Wolsztyn. Most of these targets have settled and consecutive deadlines for completion of construction, and guaranteed financial means; their investment rate, however, does not appear to be optimistic. Last year, out of general complaint in Zielona Gora Voivodship, there was 40 percent of unutilized expenditures. Investors and executors must fulfill tasks more solidly, meet deadlines in order that enterprises and machines be delivered, perhaps belatedly but so necessary for the national economy and society, in the consecutive realization deadlines.

One of the basic task of party organizations, within the state administration links, is concern about improvement in handling human matters, proper attitude toward petitioner and cultural service for citizens. It will demand from all party members consequently to combat bureaucracy, formal and indifferent relations vis-a-vis petitioners; as well as to overcome bad habits and customs.

The Voivodship Committee binds all members of the voivodship party organizations to declare an absolute and consequent struggle against all symptoms of evil and social injustice.

Zielona Gora, March 1983

Plenum of the Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

## Negative Socioeconomic Activities

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 4 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Declaration of the Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in Zielona Gora: "On the Matter of Negative Phenomena in Socioeconomic Life as Expressed by the Society in Letters, Postulates and Conclusions"]

[Text] The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [CC PZPR] has defined tasks for the party instances and organizations in the way of rapid and effective reactions to all kinds of irregularities and denaturalizations signaled by the society.

The Voivodship Committee states that the practical realization of these tasks contributes to the attainment of improvement in handling reported complaints and population's conclusions.

The party echelons and organizations, out of concern for the observance of the rule of law, carefully investigate the sources of problems, as well as take a more active part in redressing the socioeconomic life's irregularities.

In acknowledging the considerable importance of human matters the Voivodship Committee takes the position that the perfection of forms and methods of party activity in favor of examining carefully and handling each letter and signal from inhabitants of the voivodship is one of the essential tasks of the party instances and organizations as well as party members.

The basic condition for the attainment of this objective is full application of the Central Committee recommendations and binding law regulations.

A general obligation is to create a kind atmosphere for human matters. With this respect, particular tasks rest with the party members fulfilling leading functions in the links of the state administration, economy, echelons, offices and areas providing citizens with services.

Negative phenomena in socioeconomic life that have been signaled by citizens ought to be evaluated and analyzed by basic party organizations and party echelons. These party organizations should initiate the liquidation of the causes of their genesis.

The Voivodship Committee binds the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee to elaborate, accept and carry out tasks counteracting negative phenomena of social and economic life occurring in the voivodship, to make a thorough analysis of the possibilities in handling particular conclusions that have been submitted in the course of the plenary discussion, as well as those conclusions presented at regional meetings of the Executive Board members of the Voivodship Committee before today plenum.

Despite the progress achieved in the struggle with the symptoms of evil, combatting social calamities, improving law and social order, still financial delinquency, speculation, parasitism and waste as well as alcoholism have a negative influence on the social consciousness of justice and the results of the struggle against the symptoms of social pathology.

Though a resolute struggle against these negative phenomena has been declared, legal regulations alone, however, do not guarantee the attainment of the objective. Settlements in the distribution of material goods are solved by the daily work of local administrations, and the leadership of economic units and offices. Therefore, we hope that in the struggle against social anomalies, as it has been up to the present, workers' teams of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth's links, trade unions, local administrations' organs of workers' crews, all will not fail to be active. Negative phenomena that are occurring in the present and difficult economic situation of the country, impose upon working people and particularly party members employed in prosecutorial organs, an obligation of consequently combatting all phenomena in contradiction with the regularities of social justice.

#### Plenum on Involvement in People's Anxieties

Zielona Gora GAZETTA LUBUSKA in Polish 4 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by SF/ZG/JK: "The Party Engages Itself in Life Anxieties of Working People and Combats Social Pathology"]

[Text] Plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee With Participation of Albin Siwak, member of the Politburo

Yesterday in Zielona Gora, the Voivodship Committee held its plenary session. The main subject of deliberations was tasks and the role of party organizations and echelons in solving daily life problems of working people. In the deliberations, which were conducted by Voivodship Committee First Secretary Jerzy Dabrowski took part, among others, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, chairman of the committee for conclusions, complaints and signals from the population at the Central Committee of the PZPR, Albin Siwak, the director of the department at the Ministry of Administration and Local Economy, Jozef Skweres, and chairman of the Voivodship National Council, deputy Henryk Stawski.

The plenum was preceded, among other things, by meetings of the representatives of leadership of the Voivodship Committee and Office with inhabitants of a few towns, as well as by studies of the committee for conclusions, complaints and signals from the population for the Voivodship Committee, in party echelons and in local and economic administration links, concerning ways for handling complaints of the population. Rich factual and graphic-related material was shown to the participants of the deliberations.

The subject of our meeting—said Jerzy Dabrowski—results from the findings of the Voivodship Accounting Conference. We are obliged to declare a resolute struggle against social irregularities, social pathology phenomena that make daily life difficult and deepen crisis symptoms. During the meetings and accounting conferences, and even now, signs of speculation, parasitism, and other burdens of crisis have been arousing a clear protest. One ought to oppose them decidedly. This is one of the essential tasks of the party, its organizations and members. It is the duty of the party, which does not avoid difficult subjects and does not hide existing weak points. Any human problem is not and cannot be irrelevant to us. We act and will act to eliminate irregularities, and to face up to human difficulties. In this respect, the party effort demands, however, still broader social support, a social-front struggle against degeneration and irregularities.

The topical introduction to the discussion was made by: Helena Labecka, chairman of the committee for complaints, conclusions and signals from the population of the Voivodship Committee, Marian Rybak, first secretary of the basic party organization [POP] at the Voivodship Office, and Zenon Wesolek, first secretary of the POP at the editorial board of GAZETA LUBUSKA.

Helena Labecka has stressed the great importance of soothing existing life difficulties and the role of party members in fulfilling of this socially important task. The dimension of these conflicts and difficulties has been shown in 6,000 complaints, which last year were received by party instances of the voivodship. Two-thirds of these complaints were justifiable. In most cases, the party was addressed to matters of work conditions and work remuneration, claims directed at different state administration organs, housing problems, and provisions. Despite different objective difficulties, such as shortages in market supply and insufficiency in housing construction, the study of several complaints has shown the possibility of handling a great amount of these complaints to the advantage of complainants. Only active work of party members dealing and having direct contacts with workers, clients, and petitioners, may effectively contribute to the improvement of living conditions of society and to the liquidation of prevailing burdens.

Marian Rybak, in characterizing the work of state administration in handling citizens' matters, stated, among other things, that the organs of this administration received last year 1932 complaints. Seventy-two percent of them were judged ill-founded or impossible to carry out and handled negatively or in other appropriate manner. Ten percent of complaints came from people constantly dissatisfied with offices' decisions and who had been writing endlessly to the central authorities and the press. As to content, every fourth complaint dealt with housing matters. The second area of complaints has been agriculture, and notably shortages of means for agricultural production. The third important set of petitions has had to do with trade and supply. In order to cope with these complaints, it has been attempted to make sale forms more efficient, and one indicator of achieved results lies in the fact that in the conditions of deep money-market unbalance, last year statistically each inhabitant of Zielona Gora bought commodities for 4,000 zlotys more than the average for the country. Comrade Rybak subsequently discussed the undertakings of state administration aiming at working out better forms of contacts with the inhabitants of the voivodship.



Zenon Wesolek has pointed to the growing impact of the media on the course of dialogue between authorities and citizens. The editorial course of GAZETA LUBUSKA has taken part in strengthening of this dialogue through a variety of information-journalistic actions as well as handling of the correspondence. Last year 1458 inhabitants of Zielona Gora Voivodship turned to the editorial board of their party's newspaper--mostly with regard to market supply matters and the functioning of the trade network, housing and municipal problems, work-related matters as well as difficult living conditions of the poorest families.

In presenting assisting activity of the editorial board in these matters, Z. Wesolek called attention to the time-consuming factor in handling complaints, and demonstrated that the closer and more frequent contacts between authorities and citizens, the lesser complaints that pour in the editorial board.

On the reason for writing complaints, especially in anonymous letters, talked Bogusz Barszcz, chairman of the Commune National Council GRN in Lagow. In his view, society still believes that a man who courageously speaks out for his business sooner or later will find it to his cost. Simply, people are scared of the "network," something that he has personally experienced. He things that complaints spring up where life-related matters or of the individuals' entire community are ignored, where over years social needs have not been handled. He took as example the State Automobile Communication PKS directorate, which without seeking the advice of authorities of the population of Lagow suspended a bus line to Zielona Gora. Miners from Sieniawy for a long time have asked for the completion of the 400-meter long stretch of road, as it is impossible to take coal out of storage. Miners complain also over the insufficient quantity of vans for loading coal. Instead, the coal has been transported to the towns in the voivodship from remote mines in Turoszow.

Talking about social pathology phenomena B. Barszcz drew attention to the hard-currency trade in Lagow, where it has had a demoralizing impact upon the youth. Experiences of operational military groups were discussed by Col Wieslaw Soltyszewski, chief of the Voivodship Military Staff. These groups, through their work in the region, have gained the confidence of the population, as has been ascertained by their reporting many matters or sending complaints to the military groups, which by their activity have effectively contributed to the stabilization of social and economic life in the voivodship.

The speech of Edmund Modrzyka, a teacher from Babimostu, member of the party's Central Control Commission, dealt with a slightly different topic. He talked about the anxieties of Babimostu's population over the revisionist position of some leaders of the present ruling team in West Germany. He proposed that a resolution be carried against all attempts at violating post-war international agreements, particularly the treaty on nonviolability of Poland's western and northern boundaries.

An innovative form of discussion was introduced at the plenum of the Voivodship Committee by Tadeusz Krupa, journalist at the Polish Broadcasting Radio station in Zielona Gora. In his speech, he made use of a radio recording poll on topics related to the plenum deliberations. The plenum participants had the opportunity of listening to the opinions of people directly interested in these problems.

Augustyn Szerszen talked about the need for introducing the policy of flexible prices as well as insurance in the countryside. He is a farmer from Szczaniec commune. In his view, the reasons for complaints and dissatisfaction of the population stem from ill-considered or erroneous decisions of the administration. He cited, as an example, the introduction of Zielona Gora Voivodship of mandatory insurance on animal breeding. The decision has caused dissatisfaction among farmers. Farmers have reason for being dissatisfied, because in other voivodships, this insurance is voluntary.

Alicja Langiewicz, nurse from Nowa Sol, has shared the feelings and opinions of her milieu in matters with direct impact on daily standard of living. She has recalled that all decisions regarding prices and wages ought to be thoroughly considered and consulted with possibly broad participation of public opinion. With passion and indignation she talked about examples of social parasitism.

The theme of social justice was a prominent one in the speech of Jan Malitowocz, a former worker of State Agriculture Collectives Borow Wielki in Nowe Miasteczko commune. He has gone to great length in citing examples of wastefulness in managing common property, nonformal accumulation of profit and unfair distribution of income as well as too-high premiums. He cited also an example of unjust housing allocation to the workers of this PGR.

Teresa Papiernik, a lawyer from Zielona Gora, talked about the need for raising the legal knowledge of the society has. It is easier and cheaper to prevent evil than to combat it afterwards. Hence it is necessary to use extensively preventive action. Moreover, legal complexities, the entire legal procedure do not allow for settling any matter offhand or to the advantage of the complainant. In interhuman relations, in cases of conflict, there is a need for good will from both parties, conciliation, and taking the middle course. In that, there is also a role for judiciary.

Handling matters and citizen complaints that were reporting to the party echelons was the subject of Edmund Grzbowski's speech. He is from Zagan, and stated that in handling complaints all citizens ought to be treated equally. There should be no exception from this rule. There are cases of neglect of human matters at offices. The Agency for Social Insurance [ZUS] was used as an example. A woman whose husband died half a year ago, has not yet received her pension. One may understand ZUS employees, for they have been swamped with pending cases, but only the most urgent should be considered in order that people not be left without the means of existence.

The struggle against social pathology was dealt with by Stanislaw Fafara, deputy prosecutor of the voivodship. He called on citizens to participate in this struggle, in the common interest. The Department of the Prosecutor's Office is prepared for comprehensive control and implementation of regulations to struggle against all symptoms and forms of social parasitism. The prosecutorial organs will take necessary actions. In order for these actions to be most effective, the support of society is indispensable.

Against all attempts to drive wedge between workers and peasants Ignacy Gwiedzinski talked with indignation. He is a farmer from Zary commune. He recalled that different kinds of people live in the countryside. There are some who do not till or work but earn a good living. To a farmer, it goes without saying that he must work. But a farmer demands that his work be fairly evaluated and respected. Furthermore, a farmer thinks that one of the reasons for ignorance or slowness in handling human matters in our country is an over grown administration. At offices, there are hosts of employees, but handling any matter is tough work. It is not like it used to be before the war. He recalled that there had been a chief officer, who had had one stamp and settled matters offhand.

To the themes discussed about the struggle against all kinds of criminality referred Liet Col Jan Rajter from the voivodship headquarters of the Citizens' Militia [KW MO] in Zielona Gora. He has informed about MO actions in the process against criminality and social pathology phenomena. The society will be kept abreast of criminality developments and effectiveness of the struggle against it.

Edward Makos, first secretary of the plant committee at the construction complex in Zielona Gora, called attention to the reasons for the rising complaints and dissatisfaction of the population. One of these reasons is the lack of openness in the decisionmaking process at plants; for instance, in salary-raise matters, premiums, etc. In his view, the other reason lies in the growth of the administration. In spite of many declarations, the number of people employed in the administration has not diminished at all. At offices a paperwork plague still prevails. He stressed the need for energetic activity of party organizations and echelons in combatting all social evil.

At the closing of the discussion, member of the CC Politburo Albin Siwak took the floor.

The chairman of the commission for resolutions and conclusions, Jan Mielzynski, first secretary of the Municipal and Commune Committee in Sulechowie, has presented a draft of the plenary session resolution as well as a resolution condemning anti-Polish revisionism in the FRG. Both documents were unanimously approved. Subsequently, the plenum acknowledged information about the realization of conclusions and postulates reported during regional meetings of delegates and at the Voivodship Accounting Conference. All 73 conclusions have been approved, of which 64 fall within the competence of local authorities and 9 within the competence of central authorities. In the last point of its deliberations, the plenum has approved the plan for plenary sessions of

the Voivodship Committee for 1983 and themes of its Executive Board for the first half of a year of the present year.

The deliberations ended with singing the Internationale.

#### Plenum Resolution

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 4 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] The Plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee expresses its deep indignation because of an intensifying revisionist campaign in the FRG which has found its expression in a well-known revanchist pronouncement of Bonn's Minister of Interior, Friedrich Zimmermann, with the subsequent support of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other FRG political figures.

We, the inhabitants of the Central Upper-Oder, the territory which over centuries has been the focus of German expansion, categorically protest against reiterated claims to these ancestral Polish lands on the Oder, Neiser, and Baltic, regained thanks to the historic victory won over genocidal German fascism by the anti-Hitlerite coalition, of which the leading power was the Soviet army and advancing by its side the Polish People's army. The overwhelming defeat of the Third Reich ought to be seen as a warning for all of these forces in the FRG which think that it is possible to change the course of history, forgetting that to defend these lands, the entire and united might of Warsaw Pact stands on guard, which constitutes the best guarantee of the inviolability of our boundaries.

We declare never to cease to unite around the party all patriotic forces for further development of our region and country, multiplying its achievements and strengthening its position.

We call on the entire community of the voivodship of Zielona Gora to condemn unequivocally all hostile pronouncements of FRG politicians, who threaten the most vital interests of the inhabitants of the Central Upper-Oder.

On this old, Piast land were born and grew up whole generations of Poles--legitimate farmers of these lands, who will never put up with attempts undertaken by the FRG at changing the course of history.

Plenum of PZPR Voivodship Committee in Zielona Gora

#### Ideological Conference on Functioning of Law

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Edward Pretki: "Law and Functioning of the State"]

[Text] The Center for Ideological Education in the Voivodship of Zielona Gora, has held an ideological conference organized under the leadership of the Voivodship Court and the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR for over 70 judges, assessors, lawyer's

trainees of the Voivodship Court and regional courts and notaries, as well as for judges of the District Court of Labor and Social Insurance in Zielona Gora now temporarily located in Sulechow.

The main purpose of the conference was to discuss the relation of law to the functioning of the state, politics, ideology, and complex social and economic problems.

CC PZPR lecturer Jan Mikulski evaluated the current economic situation of the country in comparison to previous years and against the background of world trends. Voivodship Committee lecturer, director of the faculty for religious affairs at Voivodship office in Zielona Gora, Ryszard Slawinski, presented the most important aspects of the Polish People's Republic religious policy, the position of the state and the Church as well as matters related to the expected arrival of pope John Paul II.

The chief of the voivodship attorney's office and voivodship committee lecturer, Stanislaw Kobzda, presented basic tasks for the attorney's office in 1983 against the background of experiences resulting from the current sociopolitical situation in the country and region, as well as of the endangering state of criminality, means for combatting social pathology phenomena, foreseeable changes in law that lay grounds for activity in the Polish People's Republic Attorney's Office and other questions of concern for prosecutorial organs and the judiciary.

The commissar of the justice department, Col Czeslaw Zbroja, evaluated the courts' decisions, which in 1982 examined near 1,800 different cases; he discussed the political situation in the department against the background of the situation in the country, as well as some matters pertaining to the work of lawyer and of prison administration.

The current situation and aims of the departments of the nearest future was outlined by Lech Gmytrasiewicz, director of the cadre department at the Ministry of Justice; he called attention to the department's cadres policy, carrying out an array of legal acts, tasks of courts while trying cases of specific social gravity, pointed to the participation of courts in speeding up conditions for stability of life, introducing the economic reform, animating the activity of trade unions and local administration crews; he stressed the need for more effective training of lawyer trainees and court assessors.

A scientific worker in the Higher Officer's School at the Ministry of Interior Affairs, and CC PZPR lecturer, Jozef Sobstyl, portrayed the present state of political struggle and ideological diversion as well as their internal and international limits.

Zielona Gora Deputy-Governor Zbyszko Piwonski discussed the most important tasks for the administrative authorities of the voivodship in the realm of food economy, housing construction, improvement of situation for the less

well-off population, care for protection of natural environment and tasks for education.

Jerzy Dabrowski, first secretary of the voivodship committee, who met the participants of the conference, paid tribute to the employees of the administration of justice for their attitude and participation in handling many matters, the realization of the ideas of people's justice and social work. Further, he expressed hope for more active participation of judges and notaries in the realization of party and state tasks as well as citizens' rights.

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KRAKOW PROVINCE PARTY REPORTS CONFERENCE NOTED

Reports Conference Deliberations

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 14 Feb 83 pp 1, 3, 4

[Article by: Teresa Betkowska, Bogumila Pieczonkova, Stefan Cieply and Konstanty Migdal]

[Text] (Own Information) "Ideological commitment--a leading role--effective action. The authority of the party is implemented in actions performed for the good of the socialist society." These slogans served as the basis of deliberations of the Krakow PZPR Reports Conference held last Saturday. The conference was chaired by candidate member of the PZPR CC [Central Committee], first secretary of the PZPR KK [Krakow Committee] Jozef Gajewicz. As he opened the conference he noted that it is an important event in the life of the party, since it will assess the progress made thus far in implementing the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Extraordinary Congress and the 17th PZPR Krakow Reports-Elections Conference, it will render an accounting of the work of the Krakow party organization for the first part of the current term, it will supplement the program and will outline new tasks emanating from the current situation and from needs. It should likewise bring about an increase in the unity of party ranks and the strengthening of the party's leadership and leading role in society. Jozef Gajewicz warmly greeted guests and delegates.

Those attending the conference included: Politburo member, PZPR CC secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR CC Politburo member Hieronim Kubiak, chairman of the Central Review Commission [CKR] Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, member of the Council of State Stanislaw Kania, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, director of the PZPR CC Ideological Department Wladyslaw Loranc, minister of administration, the local economy and environmental protection, member of WRON [Military Council of National Salvation], Lt Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski, minister of education and upbringing Boleslaw Faron, chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth]

ZG [Main Board] Jerzy Jaskiernia, deputy director of the PZPR CC Ideological Department Andrzej Czyz, vice minister of metallurgy and the machine industry Krzysztof Kudzynski, vice minister of domestic trade and services Tadeusz Przyborowski as well as representatives of the authorities of Krakow political and social organizations, including: chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] KK Wladyslaw Cabaj and deputy chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] KK Bronislaw Kieres, chairman of the FJN [National Unity Front] KK Mieczyslaw Klimaszewski, chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Provisional Voivodship Council Ryszard Zielinski, chairman of the Krakow RN [People's Council] Apolinary Kozub and plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee [KOK] Maj Gen Leon Sulima.

The agenda of deliberations was passed and the mandates commission and the resolutions and motions commission were elected.

Jozef Gajewicz gave the report of the PZPR KK Executive Board.

Chairman of the Krakow Party Control Commission [KKKP] Leonard Zukiewicz presented a report on the commission's work. He emphasized that the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress bound us to prepare an effective system of control and self-control within the party and for the party, to battle the violations of internal democracy, to implement the rights and duties of party members and to do the same for party organizations and echelons.

Leonard Zukiewicz said: "These resolutions exhort and even order us to uphold in practice the party's tasks and its role of serving the working class, to act openly and to subject ourselves to the constant scrutiny of working people. The PZPR Statute and the CKKK [Central Committee Control Commission] Code of Regulations create a cohesive system of control. The duty of party control commissions and review commissions is to create conditions for the proper operation of this system."

In the Krakow Voivodship, 1,073 cases have been examined, including 519 direct cases, 304 appeals and 250 letters and complaints. The most important cases on which decisions have been made include the following: breaking ethical-moral principles, violating the principles of the statute, undermining the party's ideological and organizational unity and drawing unwarranted material benefits. Judgments were made directly in ideological and moral cases, for the most part; however, the attempt was always made to see that POP's [Basic Party Organizations] made the decisions. More than 1,400 private discussions were conducted, attesting to the broad development of preventive-educative activity. This does not mean, however, that an attitude of liberalism reigns with regard to violations of the Leninist norms of party life. The KKKP handed down 76 decisions directly; during appeals procedures, 30 decisions concerning expulsion from the party, primarily for ideological-political and moral reasons, remained in force.

Leonard Zukiewicz said: "In Krakow the process of so-called 'settling up' has reached a conclusion for the most important cases--the party cases. Our next duty is to perform an important KKKP function, i.e., to protect comrades from unjust accusations."



Party and social criticism, and the constructive recommendations drawn therefrom are an important way of battling various kinds of deformation. In this way we can eliminate our faults and defects. Sometimes those who criticize are harassed. This is an old habit that we must not fall into again. The chairman of the KKKP continued: "We have explained to some people that speaking up is not synonymous with seeking power. Having the wrong attitude to peoples' complaints and letters also carries harmful social consequences. Listening carefully to the voice of the working people and examining their cases reliably--even if these cases cannot be resolved at once--is the basic path for the party and state authorities to regain society's confidence.

Chairman of the Krakow Review Commission [KKR] Antoni Hajdecki spoke of its work. In assessing the period that has passed, he noted the organized battle of enemy forces aiming to eliminate the party from industrial plants, offices and institutions, rural areas and scholarly-artistic centers. He gave high marks to the process of purging party ranks of those who are ideologically alien, careerists or bribetakers. At the same time, however, he stressed that enemy activity was directed against people from all milieus who are ideologically committed, upright, honest and uncompromising. This enemy action and these demagogic slogans weakened the condition of many party organizations. Interpersonal, organizational, comradely and collegial ties were broken.

Antoni Hajdecki said: "Given these circumstances, the Krakow party echelon and the KKR tried in their actions to be guided by a sense of social justice, honesty and upright action. Without excessive optimism or megalomania, we can say that we know from careful observation that the vast majority of party organizations, although weakened, are emerging victorious from the test of the past 2 years."

Antoni Hajdecki noted that people left party ranks for various reasons; their motives were complex and dramatic. This problem ought to be analyzed continually and systematically as part of intraparty ideological work. It ought to be common knowledge and part of the personal awareness of party members, and should strengthen party unity, responsibility and discipline. The speaker stressed that our party alone and its allies can guarantee our emergence from the social, ethical-moral and economic crisis. He likewise noted that we must "revive the faith in the future and the happiness of those people who want to live and work in this country, who want to preserve historical continuity, who want to be caretakers of social and national traditions and want to respect our cultural heritage. The consolidation of the ranks of party organizations must be based on the ability to act in a group. Our strength is not only our wisdom, our generosity, our imagination and the honesty of individuals, it is the strength and consistent action, as well as the sense of responsibility of the entire body of party organizations."

Next Tadeusz Salwa, president of Krakow, took the floor. He stressed that the Reports Conference is another important stage in the assessment of the work of the local administration following the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress and the 17th Krakow PZPR Reports-Elections Conference.

Tadeusz Salwa said: "Concern over the living conditions and daily life of society are still a basic duty of the state administration. These tasks will be implemented over the short and long term to the extent that the methods and means are available."

Immediate measures include above all supplying people with basic food items. There has already been some improvement here. The situation with regard to manufactured goods supply is still disturbing. An improvement here is contingent largely upon production results in industry, including Krakow industry. We must increase the share of market goods in total production. This must be understood universally, and in Krakow plants as well, particularly light industrial plants.

Next T. Salwa discussed shortages resulting from disproportions in the socioeconomic development of the Krakow Voivodship, and particularly in Krakow's socioeconomic development. He likewise presented a program of action. He said: "Krakow should not sprawl out, but should develop comprehensively. We must take a rational view of its future. The present state of water and heating supply, exacerbated by shortages in the social infrastructure and by the catastrophic state of the natural environment, is already creating barriers to the city's development."

At present the most important investments being implemented to resolve crucial needs include: the expansion of the thermo-electric power plant in Lag and the conversion of the Skawinia electrical power station into a thermo-electric power plant to enable heat to be obtained therefrom in 1986 for a group of future Ruczaj-Zaborze housing developments; the implementation of the second stage of construction of a water intake at Raba in order to eliminate the water shortage in 1986. In conjunction with this, attempts have been made to include this investment in the central plan.

In Krakow, tens of thousands of people are waiting for housing. Tadeusz Salwa pointed out: "This is no longer an economic problem alone. It has a marked impact upon the atmosphere created among society with regard to the actions of the authorities."

From 1976 to 1980, a combined total of over 42,000 housing units became ready for occupancy. These proportions of housing construction, given the shortage of outlays for general municipal land development, largely exhausted the resources of developed areas. They also had a negative impact upon the comprehensive implementation of housing communities, and especially upon the social infrastructure. In 1980, the economic crisis was evident especially in the decline of results in housing construction. Less than 4,400 units became available for occupancy. During the next years, 5,000 units became available annually. For the 1983 to 1985 period, the program projects a total of approximately 15,500 new units in multi- and single family construction. Given the tremendous social needs, we must expand this program. We have the necessary land and the technical preparations for this. However, we need a broad front of new investors, especially places of employment, small housing cooperatives and single family housing construction enterprises.

The speaker also devoted a large portion of his address to health protection and social care, which are recognized as preferred fields of activity in Krakow. He noted that the implementation of the "B" hospitals in Nowa Huta and Podgorze will improve inpatient medical care markedly and will enable the speedier modernization of other hospitals and of the complex of AM [Academy of Medicine] facilities. Beyond this, 11 clinics and health centers are being opened in rural areas and in the city for outpatient care.

In discussing the problems of the Krakow scientific and cultural center, the speaker stressed that its existence imposes special duties upon administrative authorities, especially those of creating conditions conducive to scientific and artistic work.

Tadeusz Salwa said that "the unsuitable state of the local base of Krakow theaters is distressing. This justifies the need for the Ministry of Culture to have made the decision to build a multipurpose Theater of Music in Krakow. It will not be easy, but it is worthy of this city."

In the field of revalorization, the RN resolution on the crucial problems of the renewal of Krakow and the preservation of cultural values, which was passed in April 1982, will be implemented consistently. The material scope of revalorization has changed: while the number of comprehensive repair projects has been limited, the number of partial renovation projects, preservation projects and conservation projects has increased. But Krakow cannot manage this task alone. It needs the help of all of Polish society. This year, revalorization work has been subsidized in the amount of 500 million zlotys out of the National Fund for the Development of Culture. The Ministry of Culture must increase the subsidy for the renewal of Krakow every year.

In his address, Tadeusz Salwa also spoke of educational issues. This year, six preschools, six elementary schools and two teacher's residences are to be opened.

President Tadeusz Salwa emphasized strongly the issues of environmental protection from the viewpoint of the need to restructure and modernize industry to develop non-noxious processing based upon modern technology and to arrive at the radical reduction of the amount of pollutants emitted into the atmosphere from industrial plants that are known to be especially noxious. The comprehensive resolution of the ecological danger to Krakow requires sums far exceeding the potential of our voivodship, which uses only 9 percent of the products manufactured here for its own needs. This fact justifies the request for help for Krakow in this field as well.

Tadeusz Salwa assured delegates that both he and the entire Voivodship Office under his direction will be concerned without fail over the solution of all large and small matters of essence to every human being, and they will ensure the prompt, honest and gentlemanly solution of peoples' problems.

Next chairlady of the mandates commission Danuta Filipkowska reported on the work of the commission. She said that of 385 delegates, 347 (90 percent) are taking part in the conference, thus making the conference legally valid and granting it the power to pass resolutions.

The first person to take the floor during the discussion was Prof Marian Stepień from Jagiellonian University. It later became clear that his speech was one of the most interesting presented during the deliberations. First he concentrated on questions of the responsibility of party members both for intellectual values during the chaotic period that our country has just experienced, as well as their responsibility for the course of events. He said: "We were the element of order, ushering in orderliness, which contains a smattering of bitterness." Next he spoke of the attitudes characterizing the Krakow scholarly community, in which positions have become polarized. One part of the community is involved in cooperation with the highest authorities and another part is behaving passively and is counting on the fact that the new law on higher education and the autonomy of schools will protect the academic community from any kind of social control. This is an illusion.

Next Prof Stepień devoted a few sentences to the Krakow "Kuznica" [Smithy] and its positive role in inspiring socialist thought in the past. He suggested that an assessment be made of the achievements of the former club and expressed the hope that the opening of the "Krakowska Kuznica" Center for Culture will make it possible for us to forge new values of socialist culture. The third question brought up by Prof Stepień concerned the necessity of not forgetting in the party what caused the crisis and the need to develop proper relations between the intellectual left and the party leadership. He said: "There can be no approval of scheming within the party to prevent a comrade who has been criticized from having a chance to defend himself publicly. The idea of Marxism must be a living one. We must have real trust in someone. We must not nitpick at someone's words, sentences and statements. We want the party to be wise, consistent and farsighted. That it is so was proved during its special trial. This wisdom must be demonstrated universally in daily practice."

Next Jerzy Poznanski, chairman of the ZSMP ZW, took the floor. He alluded to the program of the Third ZSMP Extraordinary Congress and asked that partnerly relations be established between the youth organization and all social forces. "The struggle for the minds of the younger generation has just begun," he said, and the ZSMP program is the best guarantee that the interests of youth will be represented among social forces.

Next Voivodship MO [Citizens' Militia] commander Col Adam Trzybicki gave an extensive report on the problems of social order, the crime rate and the internal atmosphere within militia services. He stressed that the period that has just passed inscribed itself in a special way in the memory of society and MO officials. Except for the years directly following the war, never has the MO had to work under such difficult conditions. Demonstrations of anarchy, overt hostility and attempts to destroy the MO from within--all of these became the MO's trial by fire, a trial from which it emerged victorious. Since mid-November 1982, i.e., since the disastrous general strike in Krakow, we have had calm, said Col Trzybicki. Next he assessed the situation in the world of crime, on the fringes of society, for which the crisis was and still is an activating factor. In 1982, 10,300 criminal actions were initiated. Economic crime grew. The number of house and car break-ins increased. Speculation gained ground. Crime detection,

however, did not decline from its level of 70 percent. The stabilization of the situation, and thus the reduction of criminogenic elements, as well as the preventive measures being undertaken by the MO in various communities will foster an increase in social order.

The next speaker was Apolinary Cieslik, chairman of the PZPR KK Education Commission, director of the Clothing Schools Group. He focused on questions of ideological attitudes prominent in the teaching community. "Neutrality within school circumstances is oppositionism," he said. He recommended that the ideological requirements demanded of teachers be stiffened. Disturbing phenomena are in evidence here. The period that has passed has brought much confusion. Many teachers assume passive attitudes. They are perplexed. The number of PZPR members has declined to 25 percent. All of this affects the attitudes of youth. The speaker likewise noted a kind of incapacitation among school directors produced by the Teacher's Charter and the current practice of school management by the educational administration.

Next Henryk Madej, a worker from HiL [Lenin Steel Works], took the floor. He made reference to the fact that many party members belonged to Solidarity and acted as a stabilizing element in it, although that was not easy. Comrade Madej said that the authority of the POP [Basic Party Organization] and the OOP [Branch Party Organization] at the plant and in the department depends largely upon the attitude of the foreman or team leader. That is why the selection of the management cadre is so important. The speaker likewise called for an increase in the party's authority within the residential community and stressed the need to study the moods of society, particularly within the working class, for failing to consider them or making light of them will lead to crisis.

Zdzislaw Kosinski, first secretary of the PZPR KD [City Section Committee] in Nowa Huta, likewise referred to intraparty issues developing in the lowest party elements. He recognized work within the residential community to be an extremely vital element of the political system, particularly within the perspective of the coming elections to the territorial self-government. The self-government as an element of the political system must be treated as a partner. It may not come into contact or into conflict with bureaucratic tendencies, which unfortunately are present in the party as well. Characterizing the party structure as two cones coming together at the apex, with the neck being the level of the gmina or city section echelon (i.e., the first echelon), the speaker made reference to the need to activate the entire party, its 2.5 million members. He said that it is a mistake to equate the echelon with the party, since the echelon does little on its own. Unfortunately, even some of the management cadre who possess party identification cards manifest unfavorable attitudes, failing in their everyday work to identify with the party's program, with the duties of a party member. If we want to surmount the crisis, we need a tremendous number of small actions that together will lend a new quality. Two and one-half million party members is an opportunity for 2.5 million tasks to be undertaken.

Irena Grudzinska, chairlady of the PZPR KK Women's Commission and a teacher at Elementary School No 107, brought up the problems of women, their social

advancement and, at the same time, disproportions in cadre policy, in the staffing of management positions and in appointments to collegial bodies in the party as well. In the Center-City PZPR KD, less than 9 percent of the members are women; of the 62 members of the HiL KF [Factory Committee], only 2 are women; of the 17,000 members of the workforce of the WSS [Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative] "Spolem," where 70 percent of the employees are women, of 50 management positions, only 1 is held by a woman. Meanwhile, the new practice was to give women equal rights. The appointment of a PZPR KK Women's Commission is an opportunity for systematically making up for these injustices. Similar commissions ought to be created at lower level echelons.

The final speaker before the break was the deputy chairman of the PRON Provisional Voivodship Council Docent Zbigniew Siatkowski. His colorful and interesting speech outlined the potential work of the PRON within the Polish political system. It is potential work, but under certain conditions.

PRON, the political creation of the Polish Left, has been engendered out of conflict and cannot be a mere decoration, for it is an opportunity for society and for the party.

It is an opportunity for society as a movement of hope. For many it is the final opportunity for us to create a system free from crisis. It can serve as the foundation supporting our fatherland's new form. It is an opportunity for social groups, and for the opposition as well. It can be the forum where people who do not agree even with one another, "without falling to their knees, and without losing face"--can cooperate in the name of Poland. This cooperation can take place on the microcosmic plane of the thousands of deeds that are so necessary and are performed in the store, at the bus stop or in the preschool and on the macrocosmic plane that relates to the form of the Republic, which provides a forum for arguing over its model.

For the party, PRON is an opportunity for it to avoid sowing seeds of conflict through its leading role, making it a platform for social forces openly and publicly to join hands in order to unite us for the good of the fatherland.

After the break.

Barbara Nawrocka-Kanska, director of the AM Institute of Pediatrics, member of the PZPR KK Executive Board, offered a meditation, a reflection on the past. She said: "At a time when everyone asks us to be pragmatic and cold, allow me, comrades, to be given over to feelings and emotions. Allow me to recall our previous conference. How full of fervor we were that June! We were sure that we would win the war over our Solidarity. We did not believe that the high wave of social vitality would not be able to separate itself from the extremes. That is how it was then... I still remember the moment that stirred my own emotions. Just before we departed for the Ninth Party Congress, a comrade from the Szadkowski Plant said to me: go there and make the party the party! And the congress? Of all the privileges I have had during my life, I cherish most my participation in that congress. Just before leaving for Warsaw, as I made my goodbyes with the workers of the plant, I said:



we are prepared to give our lives for the party! At that time I did not know how pertinent these words would be to reality. In December 1981, the lives of our comrades at HiL became endangered..."

The address of Mieczyslaw Dalski, first secretary of the PZPR KZ at the KABEL Krakow Cable Factory, had a different tenor. The future served as the basis of his reflections. He said that a priority issue is the party's regaining of such a condition as would enable it to exercise its leadership role without being strained. He stated: "We at KABEL believe that the present situation demands the activism of all party members, for there are fewer of us than there were 2 years ago and, moreover, our political adversary is not asleep. Daily contact is important. Meetings are not enough. That is why in our factory we are taking action to demonstrate how important cooperation is between the party organization and management." The speaker noted especially that the national income is generated in plants, making them the major determinants of an increase in our living standard. He said: "Economic reform proves that we ourselves must earn what we wish to acquire. Little is accomplished without people, without their involvement."

Stanislaw Palka from the Szadkowski Plant discussed the housing problem in his address, or more specifically, how to utilize lands already developed for construction. He said that there is still much potential for increasing the occupancy of housing developments by going into so-called vertical construction on a larger scale. Not only will this save land that is good for farming (for example, the rich soils in Bronowice), but it will save zlotys as well, which can then be earmarked for needs that are more urgent currently.

Alfreda Dorynek, a farmer and mayor of the village of Filipowice, Krzeszowice gmina, was disturbed by the recent clashes between farmers and workers. She said: "Who has it better, the peasant or the worker? Who gets more sleep, and who works harder... I do not think that such reproaches and questions will give us more bread." She declared that those who have something to gain by causing consternation among people must be opposed categorically. The conference forum for this delegate from Krzeszowice also served as her chance to present openly a number of problems complicating the life of inhabitants of that region--especially the shortage of water, a matter that must be settled as soon as possible!

Economic science professor Zbigniew Martyniak from the Academy of Economics presented the problems of economic reform on the micro-scale, i.e., the enterprise scale. What are the rules of the internal game in plants? How do centrally issued orders help, and how do they hinder? What are the duties of the enterprise itself and its management? The professor posed and tried to answer many more questions. There is still much concern and worry over the ambitious plan called: reform. Although progress is still slow, there is no question of stopping the reform! But what we must stop is the avalanche of regulations that are hindering the reform!

The professor's suggestion that we must train more people in organization and management is very apt. For "too few institutions prepare people for management, too few teach the skill to make decisions."

President of HiL Eugeniusz Pustowka continued on the topic of economic reform. Having had the benefit of some experience, he shared his observations with those assembled. He presented his ideas from the viewpoint of changing the way of thinking not only of the plant management but also of the workforce. He likewise noted that practice has shown the need to revise some elements of the reform.

"The plant has become obsolete and problems are growing," said plant president Pustowka as he began to discuss another question--the problem of the need to modernize the steelworks and to resolve the most pressing issues of its workers. These matters of great urgency include housing, the still poor wage policy and the constant decline in employment! E. Pustowka concluded by saying: "We have prepared a report of the most important issues of HiL. The recommendations it contains state the dangers precisely. However, we are taking into consideration the realities and possibilities for aid to be granted to us."

The next discussant, an actor from the Nowa Huta Folk Theater, Zbigniew Samogranicki, led delegates in a different direction.

He began by saying: "One must admit that the public appreciates our work; premieres are big events. Nor do we lack an audience for our regular presentations. The authorities are also concerned about us, especially where financial security is involved. However, patronage is not money alone. For us, the presence of representatives of the political and administrative leadership at shows and spectacles is likewise important. Visits of the authorities to plants have become a tradition. Why are there no such visits to theaters?" Next he brought up a so-called difficult subject--the unwillingness of actors to appear on television. He noted that this unwillingness does not derive from political reasons alone (except in the case of a small group of artists, perhaps), but primarily from the fact that when those well-known to television and radio (always the same people) refused to take part in a program, only then, like the fire brigade, did others become indispensable. This problem has become especially severe recently. "For the past 10 years not one proposal, not even one episode, and suddenly..." It is a fact that if an actor played on television recently, he was not repressed in the community, i.e., the Krakow community. For, as the speaker stressed, in our city actors have always had the right attitude to other representatives of their profession. That is why they too would like to be treated with proper dignity! Consequently, Z. Samogranicki requested that television theater make better use of all actors in hiring, being more bold to introduce them to the audience of millions.

Jozef Dabrowski, a retired former secretary of the Podgorze Local Party Organization, presented his understanding of the communist position very personally and graphically. He spoke of himself a great deal, of his own difficult road--his age is 70. He said: "Every one of us must be a doctor and not a diagnostician. We are not waiting for Godot. Let each one of us make his own individual inventory of what he has done for the party."



Next Wladyslaw Machejek, editor-in-chief of ZYCIE LITERACKIE, made reference to several topics brought up during the discussion, saying: "The average person views party work through the office or through the work of some young woman; he sees it as shoes with holes and as matches that do not light..." That is why the party must feel itself responsible for the whole. It does have something of which to be proud. "For was it not the same when they started to build nurseries, preschools and fire stations in rural areas, and when they started to build water systems? Who started these things? It was mostly party members. But we as the party have never learned how to sell our own achievements. We have still not overcome the breastbeating that is part of our mentality. What's more, we do this breastbeating before non-party members."

As he discussed cultural subjects--film, theater and literature--W. Machejek gave somewhat more attention to writers, asking that the communist writer have a different status: "His writing should have more of an edge. Then perhaps we could defend ourselves against the volcanic eruptions that smother us."

Stanislaw Spolnik, first secretary of the Podgorze PZPR KD, brought up a very important question: if the cooperation of party advisors is real, citizens will have less cause to complain. He also posed the questions: What are the tasks confronting the party organization? What must be done at this time to convince society of the rightness of the party's program? Although there are no easy answers, he noted that it is important for the party to be strong in its internal unity, in order to rebuild its authority among workers!

The Podgorze delegate concluded his statement with this reflection: "Among the many matters included in the resolution for implementation during the last conference was the hospital in Podgorze. It became a test of the credibility of the authorities. This hospital is already being built! I assure you that we will support this investment that is needed by Krakow will all our might."

Next CC Politburo member Prof Hieronim Kubiak took the floor. He made reference to the days of June 1981, when the 17th Reports-Elections Conference was held, noting that the primary question of delegates at that time was: What can we do to present the program we have passed to the people and to encourage them to believe that it is not a tactical game?

The party program came into emotional contact with society three times. The first time was after the Ninth Congress, when we became aware that the party and society were speaking the same language. The second time was on 13 December, when not only the military deserved credit, but also society, which gave its consent to martial law, knowing that things could not continue in the same way any longer. The third time this contact occurred was on 10 November 1982, when the working class answered "no" to the adversary's call for a general strike, thus giving us its consent for the implementation of our program. But it is a fragile trust, full of doubt, and so the basic question is: How can we convert it into power?

When we went to the congress--recalled Comrade Kubiak--we knew what resolutions we had to pass there. If we had not passed them, we could not have faced our constituencies. This was a new element in our experience of creating a program. Today we know that Poland manifested in the spirit of this document is possible only within a secure Europe and that we are really building such a Poland through the wisdom of our society.

What from this program have we fulfilled? First of all, in the sphere of the systemic guarantee and the system's modification, we have done more this year than during the entire period following 1956. It is paradoxical that although we have done a tremendous amount, we still must persuade many milieus of the sincerity of our intentions. Why is this so? Because the political struggle over the shape of the country continues in the people's consciousness. We know that much can be done for people without their help, but that we certainly cannot build socialism without them. Thus, in order to convince people that this program is real and that we can implement it as the party and as society, we must make the party's 2.5 million members--representing one out of every ten mature citizens of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]--want to be guarantors of its implementation. Two and one-half million examples are more than is necessary to overcome our political adversary.

In order to implement this, however, we must use the first great political formula of Wojciech Jaruzelski in practice: the same party, but not the same party. In other words, the same party in terms of its origin, its ideological identity and its place in the worker's movement, but a different party out of its own will, without arrogance, demagoguery and all of the deformities that masked themselves as social protest. If such a party is to arise, it must comply with Wojciech Jaruzelski's second great formula, that there is no returning either to the situation after August or to the situation before August. And the party can do this with the knowledge that socialism is not a consequence of the geopolitical situation but is an opportunity for the nation intellectually. This party must be able to convince people that no group interest hides behind this conviction and that the choice of ideas it has made is simply the logical consequence of reasoning that says that it is only through socialism that our country can develop.

Such a party can be the spokesman for necessary and desirable changes, it can learn from our fellow countries, keeping in mind the special nature of Poland's historical fortunes, the specific character of the Polish worker's movement and Poland's ambitions as a nation. Lenin created such a party during the pre-October period in Russia.

H. Kubiak said: "We want to understand society. Allow me to quote an idea expressed by the great Polish humanist Florian Znaniewski. Before we try to judge anything or anyone, let us try to understand why he does what he does, not so that we may approve of it, but so that we may understand it. That will make it easier for us to govern." From this perspective, we will understand society's doubts and we will grasp why our adversary found society so susceptible to his political propaganda. What happened was not the negation of ideas, but a way to implement an idea, since society is aware that the political thought of the Polish left lay at the foundations of our independence.

In concluding his speech, H. Kubiak asked whether we have a chance to be such a party here in Krakow. Such a party is evident in its many activities, it is free from degeneration and certain childhood diseases. Such a party as a whole may be the spokesman of the working class and of the bold idea, always creatively dissatisfied with reality.

Teacher Danuta Filipowska discussed the questions of education, teachers' attitudes and the virtual loss of many POP's in schools in her address. She also noted the shared responsibility for youth among parents, the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and other upbringing elements. She criticized the wage scale in the school system and its administration and recognized the incorporation of the Teacher's Charter to be an undertaking that has had a positive impact on the mood of the teacher cadre, even though it meant that 42 percent of all teachers had to retire. Kazimierz Barcikowski referred to this in his speech.

The last person to speak during the discussion was Stefan Dziwlik, a retired activist in the worker's movement. In the name of the older generation, he noted the desirable characteristics of a party member, in particular the unwillingness to yield to the failure to deal with reality that is so characteristic of our society. He said: "Poles know how to fight for the fatherland, but they do not know how to live and work for it. The period of chaos that we have experienced has likewise determined the picture of society's moral state and that is a tremendous problem, a great remissness that must be corrected, especially since a number of phenomena and some unjustified incomes continue to foster the dissemination of petty bourgeois attitudes."

Next Politburo member, PZPR CC secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski took the floor.

Next on behalf of the Resolutions and Motions Commission, its chairman Apolinary Cieslik presented a draft resolution, which the conference approved unanimously. He also discussed the outline of a program entitled "Selected Directions of Development and Stabilization of the Krakow Voivodship," which was approved by the conference following a few remarks made from the floor (by Comrade R. Borowiecki and Comrade D. Swedziol). The conference also recommended that the text be improved and then accepted by the next plenary meeting of the KK. In a conference decision, 23 comrades (exactly half) included their speeches and recommendations in the minutes.

Concluding the conference, Jozef Gajewicz thanked its participants and guests for their contributions and expressed the conviction "that although we have done much, we still have much more to do." Deliberations closed with the singing of the Internationale.

1st Secretary Jozef Gajewicz's Report

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 2

[Speech by CC candidate member, first secretary of the PZPR Krakow Committee Jozef Gajewicz on the occasion of the PZPR Krakow Reports Conference; date and place not specified; abridged version]

[Text] Comrade Delegates! Honored Guests!

At today's deliberations we will assess the work of the Krakow party organization. Let us attempt to answer the questions that were the cause of our recent failures. Let us also see what must be done so that our work will serve the entire country and all its citizens better and better, with greater and greater success.

We have had some difficult and bitter experiences. We remember only too well the moments of terror, when we had to fear for the highest values: for the bases of our existence and for the continuity of the socialist state. Fortunately, our nation found the strength to avert a catastrophe. This time history spared us bloody experiences.

The imposition of martial law put a stop to the anarchy and chaos, to the growing threat of an outbreak of civil war. In the Krakow-city Voivodship, this fact was resisted by a certain part of political oppositionist elements.

The working class was the quickest to understand the need to impose martial law. Out of its historical wisdom, it accepted the actions and the program of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON].

But our political adversary, although rendered immobile on 13 December, was not put down completely then, nor is he now. The ideological struggle, the most difficult in Poland's postwar history, continues over the hearts and minds of the people, over our nation's future. We know today that we must win that battle. This is proved by the political responsibility of the working people of Krakow, and in particular those people of the largest Polish factory, the Lenin Steelworks, which was the site of an especially fierce strike agitation, in spite of which the workforce did not yield to provocation.

Today we have a completely different situation than existed even a few months ago. A period of calm has ensued, and we can devote more of our efforts toward resolving the most troubling problems of working people. We know that many people who are honest and are often supporters of socialism still mistrust the party and the authorities and hold a grudge against them. The troubles of everyday life eat away at them. That is why we must make a sober assessment of reality. We need time to improve society's moods, time measured by our progress in emerging from the crisis. Our actions must be based on the principle of law and order, economy, democracy and social justice. The enemies of Poland and socialism are taking advantage of our current economic problems in their propaganda activities. They are counting on our lack of perseverance. We cannot make light of these activities; the uncompromising hard-line political struggle against our avowed enemy is still necessary.

After the imposition of martial law, especially in January and February 1982, citizens' committees for national rebirth [OKON] began to be created. They gathered together people who held patriotic views, even though their world views and political stances differed. Many of these people for the first time felt the need to become part of the current of active social life.

The spontaneously arising OKON's, of which 100 came into being in our voivodship, naturally became the seed of the development of PRON.

We place great hope in the existence and work of PRON. It should become one of the major elements in the creation of the new national and social consciousness.

PRON can serve as a forum for real discussion and for the presentation of the various positions of social groups in the search for a common platform on issues of fundamental importance to the country. Therefore, the organization is of an open nature; it brings together all social forces that wish to work in the name of the good of the fatherland, while preserving its identity in full and recognizing its socialist systemic principles.

We uphold this initiative with all our efforts and also with respect for every partner in this joint patriotic activity. We ought to do everything possible to bring together honest Poles in PRON and through its program.

At the Ninth Congress, the party prepared its own program. A fundamental element of this program is the development of socialist self-government. All self-governments and self-governing organizations, RN's all well, are making more and more bold to regain their own identity; they are making better use of the legal possibilities that guarantee them internal autonomy.

For several months we have been struggling for new, socialist trade unions. Our political adversary's most important task has been to boycott these unions, which were created on the basis of a Sejm law dated 8 October 1982. The boycott has been unsuccessful.

Although the process of creating new union structures is proceeding slowly, amid a severe struggle, these unions are already in operation in half of all plants. Approximately 23,000 workers have already joined the unions. There is no cause to hide the fact that the party needs the development of the union movement. That is why we will support the new union activists, for their intentions are a guarantee of the interests of socialist Poland, of every worker. Clearly we cannot and do not wish to rule the unions. The leading role of the party thus understood with regard to the trade union movement ensures that its right of self-government will not be undermined. The leadership in question is political leadership, in the name of which the party should defend the independence and self-governing right of the union movement. And if, in a conflict with the administration, the trade unions are in the right, of course we will support them.

We have commenced work to develop rural self-government.

Employee self-governments and trade unions have a primary role in enterprises to implement economic reform in order to surmount the crisis.

In 1982, this burden fell mainly on party organizations, on the various social commissions appointed through their initiative. I should like to point out how much self-denial, initiative, good will and workforce effort were needed to reverse the unfavorable declining trend in production, in the third quarter of 1982, and to put it back on the road to growth. This was achieved by the vast majority of industrial enterprises in our voivodship, including: HiL, KABEL, the ALWERNIA Chemical Works, TELPOD [expansion unknown], the POLFA Pharmaceutical Plant and others. We thank them for this.

The reform mechanisms must be understood by the entire workforce. If party organizations, employee self-governments and trade unions do not undertake this difficult, but necessary work of making every employee aware of the benefits of the reform, we will not achieve significant progress in implementing it. The mechanical implementation of successive legal documents on the reform in enterprises is not enough. We need conscious action at every work station.

We are right to be critical of the many pathological phenomena engendered or exacerbated by the crisis, that are occurring in our life: speculation, the easy attainment of wealth of a small group of society, excess, theft and the like. We are battling these phenomena and we will continue to battle them using various repressive measures with greater and greater success. But these are only emergency measures that curb but do not eliminate these phenomena. Ultimately they can be overcome only through the recovery of the economic situation, through a radical increase in production based on an increase in labor productivity (resulting from the just remuneration of work), above all.

Through the efforts of echelons and all basic organizations, we must raise considerably the sense of moral responsibility of all party members and activists of employee self-governments, of plant directors and of middle management for the direction taken by the enterprise, for mechanisms and, above all, for the effect of the reform in every plant.

In all these fields, we wish to outline specific, clearly defined individual and group tasks for party organizations. We wish to find a way to activate the tremendous potential embedded in employee self-governments, trade unions, young people, NOT [Chief Technical Organization] and all social organizations.

In Krakow, in the cities and villages of the voivodship, many barriers arose in past years that severely limited possibilities for the rapid improvement of the living standard of the people. We can solve these problems only to the extent that the resources are available, and our resources in the crisis situation are in very short supply. Thus, we have been faced with the dilemma of making the most rational use possible of what is available, and this only in the directions that are of the greatest importance to society.

These directions, as outlined at the December KK plenum and concretized by a session of the Krakow RN, are above all:

- the solution of the problem of feeding the people, and
- the implementation of a program of housing construction and the entire social-technical infrastructure of the city.

Nor can we for a moment let up on our efforts in conjunction with the renewal of Krakow monuments. After the critical setback that occurred in this field, particularly in 1981, we must continue the process of the gradual, renewed increase in this work that we began in 1982.

The positive social atmosphere that was created in previous years through the efforts of all Poles must be implemented in the current program through the maximum usage of the existing potential and funds. The program slogan that says that Krakow's revalorization is the duty of all the nation has lost none of its timeliness.

Another task of importance for us is concern over the development of rural areas and agriculture. Our voivodship is not strong agriculturally, but the wise and skillful use of what we have will clearly bear interest in food production and in an improved living standard and work quality among farmers.

Despite the fact that joint efforts have already begun to bear fruit, producing concrete results, both in matters of the organization of farm services, production results and deliveries of equipment and materials, farming is still not in a position to perform the tasks confronting it. For this reason, our party must continue to carry out broad, inspirational-political work among self-governing organs, socioprofessional organs and youth organizations, fostering the creation of a climate leading to the full implementation of rural production tasks. We believe that the ZSL will assist us in the implementation of this task.

I should now like to speak about the situation of the party in the cultural community. Until recently this was a field that, by virtue of its social role, was subjected to severe trials and tremendous pressure. During that period in artistic communities--as in all of society--a significant diversity of attitudes prevailed. We met with reserve and often with hostility or the unwillingness to accept the party's policy, with the passivity of artists and with their "wait-and-see" attitude regarding the situation. We have tried to change such attitudes.

There are also groups of creative individuals that have demonstrated their total understanding of the situation and have assumed a rational position, maintaining a lively stance regarding current events.

The party's position in the cultural community is still weak. The party organizations that operate within it have only a few members, and although their potential for having an active effect upon their community is limited, at the same time their ranks include artists and cultural activists who are very respected and have great authority. The antisocialist opposition has paid special attention to these people. Recognizing their authority and achievements, let us assure them of our support and assistance.



The Ninth Congress resolution includes the principle of tolerance for various tendencies in artistic production. The main systemic principles of our state, however, must set the limits of tolerance. Several practical recommendations emanate from this general thesis:

--First, the party's cultural policy ought to foster the integration of creative milieus. We will support all of those artists who will tie in their own work with socialist Poland;

--Second, the principle of tolerance does not mean indulging enemy attitudes and actions that are inimical to the state or the system. Artists' unions and associations and artistic and cultural institutions cannot be used for conducting adversary political work.

--Third, taking into account the need to develop various directions in our culture, we will support and disseminate above all whatever determines the socialist character of our culture, whatever presents the inalienable humanistic and human values.

Our country's economic situation does not allow us to hope for a sudden jump in financial outlays. Thus, we must make every attempt to see that in our very limited conditions, the cultural activity of Krakow continues, at least at its current levels.

The sociopolitical situation in the Krakow scholarly community and in education continues to be difficult and complex, as we have pointed out in our report to you. This emanates from the many years of accumulation of negative phenomena from the past and from the attack of the political opposition.

A key task for the party in these milieus remains the consolidation of its ranks on the ideological, political and organizational planes. This is an indispensable condition for the achievement of real results in the political struggle and for regaining broad support for our political program. At present we need to expand our body of activists, to be patient in winning over independents to broader tasks by conquering the incapacitating passivity of a large group of teachers' and academic communities.

The building of positive programs of action for academic institutions for the coming years is one of the well-taken directions embarked upon by school party organizations in the reports-programs campaign. It is likewise an opportunity for winning people over to concrete activity. An awareness of major research, teaching and upbringing tasks under present conditions is necessary if we are to make real changes within academic institutions and if we intend to develop research and its applications to the economy, including resolving city problems.

In addition to the academic teaching cadre, another vital element in rebuilding the upbringing functions of higher schools is the subjective involvement of young people in the upbringing process. To this end, we must create conditions favoring the rebuilding of the ZSP [Polish Student Association], ZSMP, ZMW [Rural Youth Union] and ZHP in higher schools. The mutual cooperation of party organizations, the academic authorities and the teaching cadre is needed in support of this movement. If a majority of young people is brought together and works actively in organizations, this may serve as a permanent base for



the formation of a real student self-government which, in accordance with the provisions of the law on higher schools, may elect its own representatives to the higher level school authorities.

A complex situation has arisen in the educational community as well. The burden of the previously planned structural and program reform of the school system has fallen directly upon the shoulders of teachers due to the lack of material and investment security, organizational blunders and conceptual errors. Likewise, society's depreciation of the teaching profession has been of painful significance. A great disparity exists between urban and rural education, both from the viewpoint of material support and cadre.

Martial law found the school with all the manifestations of the crisis: economic, political and educational. The changes in the consciousness of teachers and young people that have occurred in recent years are very deep. Young people reacted spontaneously to the development of the situation, marginally experienced the impact of the political pressures, and their lack of trust in adults grew.

The condition of the party in this community continues to be different in different situations. The first manifestation of the revitalization of party work was the controlled and halted decline in the number of party members in the community. A thorough analysis of the attitudes of every party member became an internal necessity in POP's and stood as the basis of future action. The party in the educational milieu under martial law has regained its chance to build its authority anew and to have an impact upon the course of the teaching and upbringing process once again. This continues to be a long range task, which will serve as the basis of all organizational and substantial actions.

The school is not the sole institution responsible for the upbringing of the young generation. Under our conditions, the school, implementing its teaching-upbringing tasks, ought to also function as coordinator of the upbringing process between the teacher, the community and the family. Poland is a country of young people. The social movements of recent years, both those inspired by the party and those inspired by the opposition, have been marked by the extraordinary activism of the young generation. Today it is our party's duty to channel this natural activism into actions performed on behalf of the general good, by expressing our confidence and entrusting young people with responsible tasks. The young generation must also trust themselves more, relying on their own ingenuity and self-sufficiency to meet their own needs.

Our party's reports campaign has reinforced its ranks. Most importantly, we have consolidated through a clearly outlined political and social program. Many have left us, but although our membership is down, we have not become weaker. The campaign has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the party is politically capable of guiding social processes. It has yielded a true picture of the party and of the placement of its forces. It has also revealed the serious shortcomings that sometimes exist.

The party's leadership and service roles to society and its responsibility for the success and the future of the socialist fatherland cannot be implemented in slogans alone. Today we need actions that are compatible with the feelings of the people, decisions that get the jump on social trends and examples of positive and rational action and creative inspiration, that are understandable and unequivocal in their content.

In this speech I have shown how the leadership of the Krakow party organization views the major directions of work during the second half of the term. We have done a great deal thus far. We still have many new and difficult tasks before us. We will perform them. We are strengthened in this conviction by the fact that the road we have already traveled has not been an easy one. The party is regaining its authority systematically, and this is largely thanks to you, comrade delegates. We as the party have lived through an extremely dramatic period. Please accept my words of respect for your attitudes and my most sincere thanks. I extend these words to all party members of our Krakow organization.

In the name of our conference, permit me also to address the central authorities of our party and government. You have given us support in difficult moments, comrades, you have understood the special nature of our situation, the Krakow situation, and what more, you have done what was possible and whatever circumstances permitted.

We thank you sincerely for this.

We shall fulfill the tasks that our party places before its members. The Krakow party organization has not been led astray thus far. It is our ambition that the historical and the modern Krakow be brought together through honest work for now and for the future, as it was in the past. Can we have any loftier tasks today than this? I think that we will find an answer to this question today in this very auditorium.

#### Reports Conference Resolutions

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 14 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Resolution of the Krakow Reports Conference, issued 12 February 1983]

[Text] The Krakow Reports Conference of PZPR Delegates, deliberating on 12 February 1983, assessed the work of the Krakow party organization during the reports period. The conference maintains that this work has proceeded in accordance with the text of the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, subsequent postcongress plenary meetings of the PZPR CC and the resolutions of the 17th Krakow PZPR Reports-Elections Conference.

The implementation of the previously noted resolutions has proceeded under a difficult political and economic situation, in an atmosphere of harassment of the party and the socialist state. The martial law decree effectively halted the process of open antisocialist attack.

The Reports Conference has ascertained that the Krakow party organization, having gained experience in the political and ideological struggle of the past period, is constantly purging itself of people who are ideologically alien and indifferent, and is at the same time becoming an increasingly real political force capable of acting on behalf of the consistent implementation of economic and social reform, law and order and security, as well as the building of the front of national understanding.

The Krakow Reports Conference accepts the evaluation of the implementation of the resolution of the 13-14 June 1981 Reports-Elections Conference, as it has progressed thus far, which is contained in the reports of the KK PZPR, the KKR and the KKKP submitted to delegates. It expresses its thanks and recognition to those party members who, during a most difficult period, remained faithful to its ideological and program line in active work.

Drawing conclusions from the experiences of the past period, we recognize as essential:

- the decisive strengthening of the forces of the party and the socialist character of the state;
- the consistent implementation of economic and social reforms, while turning the attention of POP's and party echelons toward counteracting irregularities in this area;
- the strengthening of the line of dialogue and understanding among all forces that stand on the foundation of respecting and abiding by systemic principles, in accordance with the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress;
- the constant deepening of the intraparty democracy and the strengthening of the principles of democratic centralism;
- the battling of all attempts to undermine the ideological principles of the party and to destroy its unity.

In our actions, we will counter decisively and consistently all attempts to render domestic life unstable, the undermining or the hampering of the reform process and attacks on our system and on the elements that protect it, on the party and on its allies.

The Krakow PZPR Reports Conference maintains that socialist Poland, together with the political, moral and economic support of the USSR and its fellow socialist countries, emerging from the most difficult crisis of its postwar history on its own powers, will become a strong element reinforcing the position of the community of socialist countries in the world and its ability to uphold the humanist values of socialism among other societies. We uphold the efforts and initiatives undertaken by the community of socialist states to preserve peace in the world.

The conference recognizes that, in order to create the conditions indispensable both for strengthening the ideological unity of the party and for the party's regaining of the confidence and support of the working class, we must undertake to resolve the following:

- the completion of work on the PZPR ideological-program declaration, which should outline the conditions for the implementation of the principle of

- universal justice in every field of social life;
- the presentation of the results of the work of the commission called to assess the causes of the crisis in Poland and the recommendations indispensable to the party and the state that emanate from this analysis;
- the specification in the program of short range and long range goals of social and economic policy of the party, and the pointing out of effective instruments for implementing systemic endeavors that have the purpose of changing the tendency to give priority to immediate political objectives over long term socioeconomic and ideological goals.

Taking into consideration the assessment of the implementation of the Resolution, as well as of the recommendations emanating from the current sociopolitical situation of the country and the Krakow-city Voivodship contained in the PZPR KK Executive Board report, the Krakow Reports Conference obliges all active echelons and party elements to:

- reinforce the cohesiveness and conscious discipline of the party, and to turn their attention to the consistent strengthening of the role and the significance of POP's;
- continue purging the party of those members who undermine the party's authority by violating statutory and moral norms;
- implement consistently the recommendations emanating from the reports campaign, from party meetings and from the post-verification instructions of the KKR and the KKKP;
- strengthen the Leninist norms of party life;
- fully and systematically implement the tasks emanating from the program of ideological work that has been adopted in the area of developing political awareness and the attitudes of party members;
- maintain constant concern over deepening the familiarity of party members with the foundations of Marxism-Leninism as part of the permanent store of knowledge about the principles of the building of the socialist state;
- systematically train KZ and POP secretaries and the aktiv in the area of the methodology of party work;
- teach and train party groups operating in representative and social organs for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of their political work;
- undertake research on the effectiveness of training and propaganda work;
- improve the mechanisms of party information;
- work actively to develop and strengthen PRON, the union and self-government organizations that are being created in plants and socioprofessional organizations of rural farmers.

The conference recognizes a matter of special importance to be the need to develop systematically in all party elements, new, effective forms and methods of working with young people, in accordance with the Ninth PZPR CC Plenum and the principle of the partnerly formation of mutual relations between the older generation and youth.

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The Krakow Reports Conference of Delegates confirms the validity of the priority directions of work adopted by the 17th Conference for the Krakow party organization in resolving the most pressing social needs of the Krakow-city

Voivodship encompassing housing construction, the protection of the natural environment, health care, education, science, culture and tourism.

In consideration, however, of the changed conditions that have resulted from the present socioeconomic situation, the conference recommends that special attention be given to:

--the implementation of tasks outlined for party echelons and organizations in the 11 December 1982 resolution of the PZPR KK Plenum held after the Tenth PZPR CC Plenum;

--the dissemination and implementation of the resolution of the 11th joint meeting of the PZPR CC and the ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] on the issue of the further development of farming and the food economy and on the consistent implementation of the provisions of the joint meeting of the Krakow echelons of the PZPR and the ZSL, dated 16 October 1982, on this subject.

The conference orders the Krakow Committee to implement jointly the tasks contained in the resolutions of the Krakow Reports-Elections Conference and the Reports Conference.

The conference orders the Resolutions and Motions Commission to go over the detailed recommendations presented during the discussion and to submit them at the next plenary meetings of the PZPR KK for approval. These recommendations will then become an integral part of the resolution. At the same time, the conference orders the Krakow Committee to examine the detailed recommendations carefully and to take into consideration the issues therein contained in their own work.

Krakow Reports Conference

Krakow, 12 February 1983

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CSO: 2600/458

MEETING OF 'NOWE DROGI' EDITORIAL COUNCIL REPORTED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 2, Feb 83 pp 189-191

[Article: "NOWE DROGI Editorial Council Session"]

[Text] The Editorial Council of NOWE DROGI met in session on 10 January 1983 at the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw. The meeting was chaired by Tadeusz Porebski, member of the PZPR Central Committee's Politburo and attended by Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Politburo, and Jan Glowczyk, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

The discussion was based on an address by editor-in-chief Stanislaw Wronski, who presented information on the activity of the editorial office and the major aspirations for the coming year. Council members received material on the editorial office's activity from July 1982 to January 1983. Zbigniew Kamecki, Jerzy J. Wiatr, Ryszard Wojna, Jozef Urbanowicz, Tadeusz Zatreba, Mariusz Gulczynski, Jan Glowczyk, Stanislaw Wronski, and Tadeusz Porebski took part in the discussion.

The discussion produced a favorable assessment of the editorial action and aspirations, and a number of suggestions were provided at the same time concerning the tasks of the publication, especially that of a more penetrating insight into the political, social, and economic processes occurring in the country and the associated international conditions. The need for the party's scientific and theoretical support for the publication was emphasized.

The editorial office attempted to meet the ideological and political struggle, and it laid bare the adversary's activity and concepts, the ideological and political sabotage. In keeping with the desires of the Editorial Council, the party, historical, and international subject matter is being expanded. The issues of fighting the crisis and of the economic reform are becoming an important thematic current. Aware of its weaknesses, the editors are tying their hopes to the implementation of the Politburo's December 1982 resolutions, which recommends expanding the role of the institution of the theoretical-scientific and training support of the party in the ideological struggle, especially in the creative class development

of the Marxist contribution to the changing taking place in the country. In connection with this, a proposal was made for the editorial council to turn to Marxist intellectualists to ask them for more vital cooperation with their publication. The editors were asked to play the role of instigator vis-a-vis party scientific theory groups, to announce thematic and research needs, and to evoke discussion on important ideological problems.

The parties to the discussion proposed broader discussion in the publication and more in-depth theoretical reflection on subjects related to the development of the social processes of contemporary Poland, the balance of social and political power, and changes in class structure and social consciousness. More attention must be devoted to analyzing the process of class structure and development, and the mutual relations implied by the complications of this process and even political deviation. The editors intend to initiate discussion on the problems of periodicity in the socioeconomic structures of socialism and the current stage of socialist construction in Poland, the current problem of productive forces in the country, the formation of production relations, and the condition of social attitudes and public opinion related thereto.

There was a call for the columns of the paper to include more ideological subject matter portraying the basic concepts of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. The publication should play an important role in calling to mind the basic truths of socialism, the ABC's of Marxism-Leninism. It should analyze the country's political system and issues related to the class ideological struggle. There is a need to present the contemporary aspects of the class struggle in the world and the development of the revolutionary process on various continents.

We should expand the scope of international sociopolitical and economic subject matter and that of the international communist and workers' movement. Light will be shed on the current problems of peace, coexistence, and disarmament, and the threats to this process, the bolstering of the unity of countries in the socialist community, development of the world revolutionary process, and progressive and democratic tendencies in the modern world.

There will be a renewal of the continual writings containing a view of the content of party theoretical-political periodicals of the socialist and capitalist countries.

Based on Polish experience, there should be a discussion of the various aspects of socialist internationalism and patriotism and the universal laws of socialist construction. There is need for a penetrating reflection of the problems of social growth, the affairs of the groups operating in this sphere, including culture, science, and education, and the important problems of Marxist aesthetics and class principles of cultural, literary, and film criticism. Broader consideration should be given to youth problems, the development of youth, and the shaping of its attitude

toward socialism, socialist ideology, and the party. The structuring of a more effective system of national civic education is an important issue.

Within the framework of historical subject matter there is a need for offensive-oriented polemics against the erroneous assessments of Poland's most recent history and with incorrect views of the state's essence and function.

It is essential to have discussions on the basic issues of the economic policy of socialism, including the bolstering of socialist ownership and socialist production relations, the links between production and consumption, the processes of foreign trade and socialist economic integration, housing policy and construction, and the theory and practice of socialist planning, pricing policy, and wages.

We will continue the heated discussion against the antisocialist concepts found in the economic area and a criticism of bourgeois economic theories.

The editorial council has approved S. Wronski's proposals concerning the major subject-matter emphases in the various issues of our publication. On the occasion of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, an important element will be the significance of Marxist science in solving the problems of socialist construction, the definition of the conclusions for social processes in Poland, and the overcoming of the crisis. The basic emphases of other issues of the publication will concern issues such as the Marxist concept of the strategy of allies in socialist construction, the shaping of national understanding, its ideological and class content, and so on.

The predominant theme of one issue is to be devoted to the party's problems, ideology, and practical activity, with coverage as well of problems such as the struggle for the PZPR's ideological consolidation, an assessment of the course of the program-reports campaign, the content of the statutes and experience in implementing them, and the attitudes of party members under the present conditions.

The series of monographic articles on the experience of party organizations in large plants and other places of employment will be continued. We want to use the background of the severe political and ideological struggle to portray the process of the party's renewal and bolstering in the major centers of the working class.

The editorial council has approved plans for building up cooperation with the theoretical-ideological organs of parties in the socialist countries and with certain communist periodicals in capitalist countries.

The council has decided to make efforts to obtain a larger readership through the above-mentioned content of the publication and by its promotion in the mass media.

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CSO: 2600/582



EXPERT ARGUES FOR LIMITS ON POLITICAL CONTROL OVER ECONOMY

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Jozef Kaleta, Economic Academy in Wroclaw]

[Text] My article, entitled "Economy and Politics" and published in the November issue of the monthly ODRA, has sparked a lively discussion. I have received several dozen letters, whose authors in general agreed with me. This topic was also discussed at a special party meeting in the Wroclaw Economic Academy (I did not initiate it) precipitating a very lively and interesting discussion. Only one discussant questioned the theses of my article, the rest in general supported my view.

The topic chosen by me is no doubt very complex and therefore must arouse polemics and emotions, particularly in that it is a tremendously important problem from the theoretical and practical points of view.

Polemics with my article were begun, as expected, by the Wroclaw weekly traditionally critical of my views, SPRAWY I LUDZIE, which, among other things, in its issue of 3 February 1983 No 5, published an article by W. Luty, who stated that the major cause of the economic crisis in Poland was the primacy of economics over politics. GAZETA ROBOTNICZA of 14 February 1983 published a polemic article by P. Kotlarek and J. Mielecki.

It is difficult to polemicize with the thesis of W. Luty that the reason behind the economic crisis in Poland was the primacy of economics over politics, and probably such polemics are unnecessary. However, the article by P. Kotlarek and J. Mielecki, which was written matter-of-factly and contained substantive criticisms, deserves an answer from me, particularly in view of the fact that our polemics contains many misunderstandings, which I am in part responsible for because of my use of some shortcuts in arguments.

First of all, contrary to what the said authors stated, there is no disagreement between us with regard to the major problem presented in my article; namely, I do not question a certain primacy of politics over economics, nor do I maintain that politics must be totally separated from

economics. In my article, I clearly stated that "the maintaining by the party of the leading role in economics does not require at all direct intervention of political organs in the economic sphere, particularly in the sphere of everyday management of the economy. The party can and ought to perform the leading role in economy only through appropriate delineating of the strategic socioeconomic goals and through its members, who are active in the organs of authority and administration as well as in the organs of employees' self-government." In many other widely-known (hopefully to said authors as well) publications of mine, I speak in favor of central management of economy through the political center, only not by means of orders and bans, but by appropriate economic mechanisms.

The said authors correctly maintain that economy cannot be limited to maximalization of effective management and that equally important is the distribution of the produced product among social classes and groups, and that is the task of politics not of economics. But that is exactly what I wrote in my article (and I have been repeating that in my books and numerous articles for the last 20 years). I wrote that "the differences between socialist and capitalist economies should not be reflected in techniques and methods of organization and management, methods of economic calculation, methods of planning and forecasting..., but in the distribution of the GNP. In the socialist economy there are undoubtedly conditions for more rational and more just distribution of the GNP than in capitalist countries, and particularly for society to share in that distribution, and in that above all lies the superiority of the socialist economy over the capitalist one."

These formulations likewise clearly show that I do not question the state's political tasks in the economy, but that I see the great role in the economy of the state and its policies. After all, no one who is versed in the affairs of the contemporary world can really believe that the intervention of the state, even a capitalist one, in the economy can be totally avoided. Such a view is not even represented by the founder and leading representative of the monetary school and outstanding U.S. economist, M. Friedman, who completely disagrees with the Keynesian economists and criticizes excessive intervention of the state in the economic sphere.

The subject of discussion, then, is not whether the state can intervene in and influence the economy, but the scope of it. In my article, while speaking in favor of the leading role of the party in the economy and of the broad authority of political organs with regard to the distribution of the GNP, I also attempted to propose (perhaps in a debatable manner) the scope and the means of practical implementation of the leading role of the party in the economy in particular, and of the state's influence on the economy in general. I based my proposals on the basis of a critical evaluation of the hitherto relations between the economy and politics. In particular, I criticized complete disregard in politics for objective economic laws as well as total disregard for economic mechanisms and economic calculations by politicians, and the resulting voluntarism which brings great losses to the national economy and causes periodic economic crises. The said authors agree with me in this respect as well for they wrote that "politics may not violate objective economic laws." If the reality reflected that statement

there would be no problem of the relationship between politics and economy and no need for such discussion.

Improper relations between politics and economy in our country are commonly recognized and they are unquestionably exemplified by our excessive foreign debt and the many started but not completed investments, undertaken in violation of the elementary principles of economics. The problem was also discussed at the Ninth Party Congress, and many representatives of the highest political and state authorities have confirmed it. This led to the institution of the economic reform, and many bills have been passed already with the aim of improving these relations. According to the premises of the economic reform, the role of the enterprise's independence, economic instruments, and economic calculations has increased already and the objective economic laws will be respected. All of this is aimed at neutralizing political voluntarism, which brought us so much harm in the past.

While agreeing with the basic theses of the said authors, I do not share their views on many specific problems, related to the shaping of the dependence of economy on politics.

I do not agree, for example, with the authors' thesis that "coming out of the crisis is closely linked with the earlier overcoming of the sociopolitical crisis." Without effective actions, aiming at a visible improvement of economy there is no chance--in my opinion--for overcoming the sociopolitical crisis in our country, simply because it was the economic crisis which precipitated the sociopolitical crisis. The sociopolitical crises of 1956 and 1970 had a similar background as well. It is difficult to agree with the authors' thesis that the political events of August 1980 were a result of the emergence of social forces striving at the renewal of political life. There had to be a reason for the emergence of those forces. The reason was the growing economic crisis, caused by the erroneous voluntaristic policy which, by the way, was noted by said authors. Those forces did not emerge at all and--in fact--could not have done so in the periods 1945-1950 and 1971-1975, when the economy prospered. If in the remaining periods of our postwar history the economy had functioned equally well, and if it were really possible to satisfy the continuously-growing material and cultural needs of society (that is, to fulfill the basic goal of socialism), there would be no crises. Society would have accepted the policies, political apparatus, and the leadership of that apparatus.

Said authors write that the primacy of politics over economics is particularly visible during turning-points, that is, in the periods of social and economic conflicts. This is true; in the periods immediately preceding crises the primacy of politics over the economy always reaches its apogee and becomes the main reason of the crises. Thus, every crisis was overcome mainly by economic reforms, which aimed at decentralization of management, at increasing the role of market and economic mechanisms, and at the restoration of objectively operating economic laws, etc., that is, by allowing the economy certain independence. In all programs designed to overcome the crises of 1956, 1970, and 1980 the economic matters clearly dominated. Unfortunately, those programs were not consistently executed. After a few years of

relatively independent functioning of the economy and of achieving good economic results, a new centralization of management was introduced which consisted of growing subordination of the economy to the political center and that produced voluntarism, which in turn brought about economic regression, leading to a new crisis. As we know, this cyclic nature of our history has already repeated three times and we cannot allow its further repetition in the future. Our leading representatives of the central authorities seem to be aware of that; this can be exemplified by their speeches, among others, at the last voivodship conference in Wroclaw, where they stated that the present political situation in the country is very difficult, but our economic situation is even more so, and therefore our party in the immediate future must focus its efforts on overcoming the economic crisis.

Naturally, it goes without saying that these efforts ought to aim mainly at full and consistent implementation of the economic reform, and not at replacing competent and responsible organs of economic administration by the party, as we have done before. We cannot continue to make the same mistakes. The decisive involvement of the party in the economic reform is necessary in view of the existence of tremendous barriers on the implementation road. The main barriers of the economic reform have an internal character, therefore they are not a result of external, objective, or structural conditions of our socioeconomic system. A primitive execution of the principle of the primacy of politics over the economy--consisting, among others, of totally ignoring objective economic laws--and excessive development of bureaucratic centralism in our country are certainly neither in the interest of any of the socialist countries, nor do they follow from the essence of socialism. On the contrary, they blatantly contradict the fundamental principles of socialism and its proclaimed ideas. The treatment of internal barriers of the economic reform as objective-limiting conditions would mean that we are bound to continuously repeat errors in the planning and management of the national economy, or in other words, that our functioning system of the economy is nonreformable and must undergo permanent crises.

Finally, I owe some explanation with regard to the use of quotes from Lenin with regard to the relationship between politics and the economy, although such an explanation may not be necessary, for as the said authors noted, "quotes are not appreciated by the readers." It is true that one can find different statements by Lenin on this subject in different periods. Before the October Revolution, during the period of struggle for power, Lenin for obvious reasons emphasized the primacy of politics over the economy, while after winning power--in the period of the NEP--he often spoke in favor of increasing the independence of the economy, and even of the primacy of the economy over politics. There is no doubt, however, that the classics of marxism always agreed that it is existence that determines consciousness, and that the economy is the essential element of its basis, which is primary; while politics is an element of the superstructure, which is secondary in relation to the basis. These formulations have survived the test of life and have lost none of their meanings even today.

POLITICAL, CULTURAL CONTACTS WITH PALESTINIANS DESCRIBED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 83 p 6

/Article by B. St.: "Poland and Palestinians--Solidarity and Cooperation"/

/Text/ Palestinians do not have their own state. As we know, pursuant to the UNO decision of November 1947, two independent state organisms were to be created on the territory of the historical Palestine: Jewish and Arab. Only one has actually been created: Israel. The Palestinian state still does not exist.

The Palestinians (estimated to number some 4 million), for many years scattered over the world, fight for this very state; particularly the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Yasir Arafat. It is recognized by the Arab countries, the UN, the Nonaligned Countries Movement, and the socialist countries as the sole legal representatives of the Palestinian nation. It fights militarily and using the tool of diplomacy. And despite the fact that last year Israel, assisted militarily and diplomatically by the United States, attempted by waging a bloody war in Lebanon, where the Palestinian refugee camps and PLO headquarters are located, to eliminate this movement by inflicting heavy physical losses on it, nevertheless it still actively functions.

Creating Institutions

Parallel with the armed struggle against the Israeli occupier and with the diplomatic activities at the international fora, the Palestinian movement has created a number of statelike institutions. One of them is the Palestinian National Council, called an parliament-in-exile and uniting divergent political tendencies.

Recently the 16th session of that council has met in the capital city of Algiers. Contrary to the expectations of Israel and countries that are tied up with the imperialism, it became a manifestation of the growing Palestinian unity, while at the same time a broad variety of political and social views held by the Palestinians has been respected.

A party-parliamentary Polish delegation headed by Edward Szymanski, director of the PZPR CC's Office of Sejm Affairs and a member of Sejm, has also parti-

cipated in the session's debates. It had a number of meetings and talks with the leading Palestinian activists.

This visit and the talks conducted at that time, as it has been stressed by the head of the delegation, constituted a component of the very rich and multifarious Polish-Palestinian cooperation that has been growing for many years.

Our country consistently supports the just struggle of the Arab Palestinian nation for its right to sovereignty and establishing its own state. We consider that the foundation of lasting and just peace in the Middle East is the return of Arab lands that have been taken over by Israel. One of the manifestations of our support, among other things, has been the fact of upgrading of the status of the PLO Permanent Representative in Warsaw last summer, it became an official diplomatic representation.

#### Multifarious Contacts

Polish-Palestinian contacts continue to develop along many lines. One of them is the parliamentary platform. The young Palestinian parliament is lively interested in learning from the experiences of other parliaments, including the Polish one. This has found its expression, among other things, in the acceptance by Chaled al Fahum, chairman of the Palestinian National Council, of an invitation to visit our country.

For years contacts between social and professional organizations have also been growing. Among others, last year such contacts were established between the Union of Palestinian Peasants and the United Peasant Party (ZSL). For 4 years now the PLO has had an information stand at the Pozna Fair. It presents, among other things, Palestinian handiwork. The exchange of boy scouts continues, while as part of the observance of the International Solidarity Week devoted to the support of Palestinian nation, scheduled in our country for May, many displays are being organized that are showing the struggle and accomplishments of the Palestinians.

All those contacts--political, cultural, and social--contribute to learning more about one another by both our nations, "being in a common trench in their struggle against imperialism," as Yasser Arafat put it at the congress. The ideals of the just Palestinian struggle to regain their fatherland have a particular soft spot in Polish hearts, stated the head of the Polish delegation in Algiers. Because there are many analogies with our country's most recent history, since our country's freedom and independence has been achieved at the cost of a priceless and still-felt sacrifice of blood.

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SOCIAL CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION HEAD DEFINES TASKS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Mar 83 p 4

[Excerpts from an interview with Zbigniew Salwa, chairman of the Social Consultative Commission, by Romania Kalecka of the Polish Press Agency: "Champions of the Interests of the Working People at Enterprises"; date and place not specified.]

[Text] Professor Dr. Zbigniew Salwa, chairman of the Social Consultative Commission, set up by State Council as a consultative agency for trade unions, has given an interview to Romania Kalecka, a journalist of the Polish Press Agency. Excerpts from the interview are printed below.

We are not a government agency or any kind of authority or administration for trade unions that now in the process of creation. Social Consultative Commission performs only auxiliary functions for the new unions and undertakes only actions that flow from the questions, suggestions and signals coming from the initiator groups, founding committees or already operative trade unions.

Practice has confirmed that the model statute of the trade union organization of an enterprise developed by the commission is useful. Besides, the commission, as well as provincial consultative teams, give answers to numerous questions concerning interpretation of the trade union law and legal regulations pertinent to execution of that law.

Our Legal Team has, for instance, clarified that binding regulations rule out the possibility for a worker to seek reimbursement of dues paid during the period of membership in a trade union. Membership dues become the property of the union, and a worker that ceases to be a member of the union is not entitled to any financial restitution from that account.

From information received by the commission, it is clear also that the role and nature of the founding committee of a trade union is not everywhere interpreted correctly.

Specifically, the committee does not have the powers of trade union administration and cannot act as its agency. After registration of the



union, the committee must, as soon as possible, hold elections, without which the union cannot technically conduct its statutory activity to the fullest extent. No regulations allow for the possibility of the founding committee becoming a provisional administration of the union or enterprise commission, as sometimes happens.

The commission has launched a program of dissemination of knowledge about trade unions. Members of trade union boards are trained in a five-day course, to which they are admitted through the medium of provincial information-consultative boards. In addition to general information on the legal status and role of trade unions in our country, the program of the course covers such issues as their independence and self-government, relationships with party organizations, selected issues of activities of enterprises in the conditions of the economic reform, the "trade union--workers self-government system," the powers of trade union organizations at enterprises in matters of wages, labor protection and social services. This training is, of course, just an offering on our part, but first courses seem to confirm its usefulness.

We attach particular importance to creation of conditions for trade unions in individual branches of the economy to get together and exchange views and experiences. It is clear that such contacts are needed by trade unions--which currently operate only at the level of individual enterprises--for they have a lot of problems in common, both in trade union work and in matters concerning the members' working and living conditions.

We have found it useful to arrange meetings between trade unionists working in the same industry in larger cities or in provinces, and if the need arises, also on a national level. These meetings should become--and this is also important--a forum of consultation with trade unions on drafts of legislative and administrative government decisions important for workers and the public in general.

The tasks of provincial consultative teams, which so far mainly provide legal aid to trade unions, have been greatly enlarged. With this in mind, the presidiums of Voivodship People's Councils (WRN) in most provinces have enlarged these teams to include trade union activists from enterprises.

Currently the commission and provincial teams participate in organizing consultations with the unions on the draft law of social labor inspections.

An increasing number of trade unions are becoming aware that small, scattered organizations have less power and limited possibilities for influencing the way the workers' problems are solved. As a result, in many communities (primarily in those where there are trade unions already at most enterprises) one observes a growing tendency towards development of higher-level trade union structures.



These initiatives of trade union workers concur with the premises of the State Council, which has asked our commission to prepare a draft outline of the development of trade union structures at the level of branches of the economy. The commission has created a team that has already commenced work on this difficult task.

Psychological barriers caused by lack of knowledge and expressed in the attitude "let's see what you can do" are still playing a certain role. This means simply making the still relatively weak unions shoulder the burden of struggle for interests of the entire staff. At some enterprises, there is still boycott or attempts at pressuring workers to stay out of the new unions. This is, however, no longer a phenomenon of the scope it had in the first weeks of unions' introduction.

A marginal but absolutely inadmissible fact is the attempts at limiting the legal powers of trade unions by economic managers. Some managers, for example, forget their obligation to provide technical and organizational conditions for trade union activity, or require substantial explanations each time a trade union activist asks for a leave of absence to perform union work, although this is guaranteed him by law; this has traits of interference with internal affairs of the union.

In response to suggestions from trade union workers, the Social Consultative Commission has recently submitted proposals for more detailed definition--by way of interpretation of regulations by the minister of labor, wages and social affairs--of the law, e.g., allowance of a certain number of paid work hours for performance of trade union tasks depending on the number of employees at an enterprise, as well as a definition of the concept of "technical means enabling proper functioning of the union" used in article 32 para. 1 of the trade unions act. We have also suggested the need for definition of the specific workers' rights enjoyed by elected trade union officials on union salary.

Trade unions which have completed elections are now beginning to develop programs of activity. It is important that these programs be both ambitious and realistic, not outstepping our economic capacity, limited by the current crisis. Obviously, this does not mean to suggest that unions should give in when faced by arguments about the so-called objective difficulties. They certainly cannot surrender on matters of utmost importance for people--social justice at an enterprise, respect for workers' dignity. Frequent contacts of members of the commission with trade union activists confirm that these are people fully aware of the role and place of the trade union at an enterprise and of the responsibility they bear as champions of the interests of the working people.

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REVIEW OF WORK ON CEAUSESCU'S MILITARY-POLITICAL VIEWS

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Feb 83 p 5

/Review by Col Emil Burbulea of the book "Nicolae Ceausescu's Political-Military Conception of Defense of Socialist Romania's Independence," by Ion Coman, Col Gen Dr Constantin Olteanu, Col Gen Vasile Milea, Lt Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu, Maj Gen Victor Voichita, Lt Gen Gheorghe Gomoiu and Col Mihai Arsintescu/

/Text/ The book entitled "Nicolae Ceausescu's Political-Military Conception of Defense of Socialist Romania's Independence" is one of the publishing events inspired by the all-inclusive work of our eminent party and state leader. Published by the Military Publishing House, it is an extensive scientific study of one of the fundamental aspects of the party secretary general's prodigious theoretical and practical activity, that of defense of national sovereignty and independence, and a tribute the whole Romanian army pays in this way to its supreme commander on his birthday after his 50 years of tireless revolutionary activity.

The fruitful product of a prestigious collective of authors, the book begins with essential considerations of the far-seeing thought and consistent action of Nicolae Ceausescu on behalf of socialist construction in Romania and his telling contribution to substantiation of the policies and programs that will lead to a modern, strong and dynamic, balanced and efficient socialist economy that can resolve the problems of all-around progress. The authors bring out the very profound dialectical view of the gifted party leader on the entirety of the economic processes going on in Romania and their many varied effects upon all social relationships and his unrelenting effort to rationalize the correlations between the economic and social, the general and specific, and the national and international in order to make increasingly full use of the vast treasury of the Romanian people's energies and abilities. Understanding as no other the deterministic chain of social processes, the party secretary general resolves in unbreakable unity the problems of construction and those of consolidation of the capacity to defend the people's revolutionary gains and national independence and sovereignty.

Extending the analytical process, the authors go on to present the secretary general's guiding principles that all together form the basic idea content of

Romanian military doctrine. Proceeding to a radical reconsideration of the ideas and policies of two decades ago, Nicolae Ceausescu brought the state function of national defense "into the field of force of some guiding ideas integrated in a uniform system" and investigated the areas "previously left out" (p 65), thus developing an original military doctrine and an efficient tool for organizing and preparing the nation's forces to defend its vital interests at any time. After rationally exposing the limitations of the previous solutions to some vital defense problems, the authors discuss the relationships between the military doctrine and other fields of knowledge, primarily military science and history, and as a corollary they sum up the principles of the doctrine as they follow from Ceausescu's idea that national defense is the cause and task of the entire people.

We found the chapter on national sovereignty and independence particularly interesting and cogent. It is a problem that "runs through all of Nicolae Ceausescu's work and activity like a red thread." (p 126) The authors expatiate on the concept of sovereignty and independence, the meanings of it that are considerably enriched in Ceausescu's works, and its consistent application to the RCP's scientific and patriotic policy and in Romania's relations with various states of the world. The book points out the critical importance the president of Romania, an outstanding personality of the contemporary world, attaches to sovereignty in every nation's development according to its own inclinations, in order to promote productive international collaboration, to secure mankind's peace and progress, and to resolve the great and serious existing problems as regular, objective necessities along with the outmoded policy of force and dictation and its bad effect upon the international climate. An accomplished revolutionary strategist, Ceausescu very clearly stipulates the decisive role of the working class, the communist and workers parties, and the socialist countries in promoting the principles of national sovereignty and independence as well as their responsibility to their own peoples and history, the importance of uniting all the democratic and progressive revolutionary movements, and "defense of the peoples' sacred right to complete dominion over their national resources and to self-determination with no outside interference." (p 136) The authors make good use of historical retrospect to bring out the lines of continuity leading to the resistance structures of the Romanian people's permanence and viability, their ability to fulfill their aspirations, and their role as a factor for progress in this part of the world.

The authors inject an idea that runs throughout Nicolae Ceausescu's work, namely that if effective independence and sovereignty are to be secured, the nation's armed forces must be permanently under the sole management of its responsible political elements. Using carefully selected correlated data, the authors demonstrate the consistency with which the RCP militates for observance of the universal principles of international relations, Ceausescu's unbounded confidence in the ability of the revolutionary forces to ensure progress in the history of mankind despite all obstructions raised by the aggressive imperialist and neocolonial forces, and the confirmation of these concepts and policies of the leader of socialist Romania by worldwide experience as well as their widespread recognition and appreciation in all quarters of the globe.

The book takes up highly important points about the sources of Romania's strengthened defensive potential on the basis of the ideas in our party and state leader's works that directly relate the defensive strength to various aspects and

areas of construction of the new order, such as the vitally important effects of industrial and agricultural development, of continuing consolidation of the socialist state as one of revolutionary workers democracy, of development of the unshakable unity and cohesion of the entire Romanian people around their experienced guide, of development of science and culture, and of the broadened knowledge of the workers.

The party's role as the vital center of the whole nation and its high responsibility for solving all problems of development are particularly apparent in the area of the strengthened defense potential. Ceausescu's ideas about the need of further improvement in the approach and working methods of the party organs and organizations and heightening communist responsibility and standards are a valuable guide for the activity of the commanders, political councils, and party and UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ organizations and for their efforts that will lead to the units' greater combat strength, revolutionary education of the military, and promotion of the new in political-educational and combat training. On the principle of the decisive role of the individual in war, the authors point out the particular importance the supreme commander attaches to the ideological arming of the military, cultivation of the political-moral traits characteristic of the new man inspired by lofty convictions and patriotic feelings and the ideals of socialism and communism, and promotion of the spirit of order and discipline and a sense of personal responsibility among personnel and troops.

The patriotism of Ceausescu's political thinking includes invaluable ideas about the importance of indestructible unity between the army and the people as a source of defensive strength. Citing moments of stirring greatness in the nation's history, the book brings out the truth expressed by the supreme commander that the army was always on the people's side and served the national interests. Unity between army and people is presented both as a reality, resulting from participation of military and personnel in socialist construction and that of the workers in preparations for defense, and as a necessity to guarantee implementation of the programs approved by the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference.

After in-depth analysis of the army's role as a school of political, patriotic and revolutionary indoctrination, the final part of the book is devoted to the goals and courses of action set in the supreme commander's directives to improve the army's political and combat training. The authors stress the uniqueness of this historic document, the importance and comprehensiveness of its provisions, and the vital necessity of improving all aspects of the activity, of complete implementation of the program for the troops' political and combat training, and of impeccable performance of the missions entrusted to the army by the supreme commander, the army being ready to do its duty to party, country and people at any time.

The book's chief merit lies in its successful presentation of a broad spectrum of essential aspects of Ceausescu's conception of national defense, the originality of his thinking and his creative approach to the problems of consolidating independence and sovereignty in connection with the historical stages Romania is going through, the requirements of the socioeconomic processes in the present period, and the general interests of socialism and progress. It is the result of an effort, itself creative in its substance, which aids thorough understanding of the thought and actions of the one who has served the socialist cause for

five decades with exemplary devotion and who dedicates his exceptional energies and abilities in exemplary fashion to the nation's highest interests, the gifted strategist who lent new dimensions to socialist Romania's sovereignty and independence and who realistically and wisely exercises the highest responsibilities as the unanimously recognized founder of the most glorious era in the two millennia of the people's history, the era of Romania's completely free and dignified advance among the nations of the world, namely the Ceausescu era.

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# CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL DEFENSE HAILED

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Feb 83 pp 4, 5

[Article by Lt Gen (Reserve) Dr Gheorghe Zaharia: "Ceausescu's Uniform View of the Nation's History and Defense Policy"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of five decades of revolutionary activity and the birthday of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of Romania and supreme commander of the Romanian armed forces, the Military Publishing House has published, in an impeccable format, two collections of representative texts from the works of the party and state leader.

The first one, entitled "History of the Romanian People" and compiled by the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee, contains an introductory study by the director of the institute, Ion Popescu-Puturi. The second one, "National Defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania," has a preface by the minister of national defense, Col Gen Dr Constantin Olteanu.

Publication of these extensive syntheses from the party secretary general's works provides specialists and the general public with invaluable scientific interpretations based on the solid ground of dialectical and historical materialism and profound knowledge of the Romanian and international realities of the contemporary world. Both books also present a vivid picture of the party secretary general's efforts in two areas of thought and action that are closely interrelated, expressing his conception of the dialectical bond between past, present and future, which conception is in fact basic to his entire theoretical and practical activity on behalf of the prosperity of the Romanian people in their age-old ancestral home.

In the first book the reader will be pleased to find conclusions restoring the historical truth about the origins of the Romanian people and refuting the one-sided distortions and exaggerations of historians or political scientists who once paid tribute to some schools interested for certain reasons in certain considerations. On this subject Nicolae Ceausescu maintains that in order to defend their national entity and their own existence, the Romanian people "had to fight hard battles from the formation of the centralized Dacian state by Burebista in the first century B.C., from the period of Decebal's flourishing



Dacian society and on through two millennia of existence until this day." Being people of the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area, the Romanians "did not leave the land of their birth but grew to love it with its mountains and plains and its rivers and lofty forests, and they remained steadfast in these regions, defending their existence and their right to freedom." Like any occupation, the Roman occupation of a part of Dacia for about 170 years worked great hardships for the Geto-Dacian people, as the party secretary general realizes, but it also led to the fusion of the two civilizations and advanced cultures and refined the Geto-Dacian civilization and culture, which had long maintained exchanges with the civilizations and cultures of the peoples of the Black Sea and Mediterranean areas and with the northern and Central European peoples.

This collection of texts includes all the high points of the Romanians' struggle for nearly two millennia to restore their national unity within the Dacian borders against foreign domination. It recalls the formation of the first feudal state units, the small voievodates later combined into centralized feudal states, and then their struggle to create the united Romanian feudal state, an achievement accomplished by Micheal the Brave in 1600, and the united Romanian national state formed by the masses in the glorious year of 1918. In the secretary general's works the grandeur of these events looms particularly large, in keeping with the heroism of the masses and the wisdom and diplomatic skill of the political and military leaders, in view of the threat of expansion of the great neighboring kingdoms and empires, which were indefatigable in their aspirations to subjugate and dominate the Romanian Lands, wheter they were the Polish and Hungarian kingdoms or the later Ottoman, Habsburg and Czarist empires.

Nicolae Ceausescu analyzes each of these events in depth, interpreting their social-political essence and historical significance, bringing out the historical trends and regularities, linking the past with the present, and outlining the future prospects.

While according the personalities their due place in the masses' struggle that gave rise to them, the party secretary general emphasizes the peasants' role in preserving and developing the language and customs (basic elements of unity of kinship and national unity) in the struggle for economic, social, political and cultural progress and for national unity and independence. The president of Romania regards the unification of the peasant masses' action in the modern period with that of the new class that appeared and developed as a bearer of the ideas of the struggle for economic and social progress, namely the working class, as the foundation of the whole people's revolutionary effort under the leadership of the party of the working class.

Nicolae Ceausescu devotes many pages of in-depth analysis, stirring praise and unbounded confidence in their creative power and ability to these important motive forces of history, placing them in the general historical context of the tasks imposed by the historical development of every period and in relation to other political and social forces, and analyzing their successes and failures as well as the internal and external factors that gave rise to them.

Much space is devoted to the RCP, the continuer of the revolutionary and democratic policy of its old socialist root, the Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania (We are celebrating the 90th anniversary of its formation this year on 31 March), beginning with the Congress of May 1921, which marked the improvement of

the workers-revolutionary party in Romania. Its history is presented in the period of two decades of illegal activity and especially in the era inaugurated by the crucial act of August 1944 (of which it was the initiator and main organizer) which started the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national emancipation.

The humanistic inclination toward peace and friendship with other peoples is emphasized as a basic characteristic the Romanian people have inherited from their Thraco-Geto-Dacian ancestors. This governs the thoughts and actions of the president of socialist Romania today, and he consistently promotes it both in the domestic policy and in the international relations of the party and state when he takes steps to consolidate friendship between the Romanian people and the national minorities in Romania, or when he proposes measures for disarmament, consolidation of peace, elimination of threat or use of force from international relations, or consolidation of good will and collaboration among peoples on the basis of noninterference in internal affairs and mutual respect and benefit.

And finally, in specially emphasizing the democratic development of the state and its organs, staff and institutions, the RCP secretary general also analyzes the history of the Romanian armed forces in this context as well as the historic mission of the Romanian army in the war of national independence, World War I and the anti-Hitlerite war, and also its mission to defend the working masses' revolutionary gains and to consolidate, alongside the workers, the construction of the fully developed socialist society through its contribution to the great works of national significance and to the formation of the new man, the patriot-citizen of Romania.

The secretary general's approach to national history as a uniform history based on the relationships of Romanian social development in these regions, in close connection with the development of the productive forces and production relations but also in close contact with the neighboring peoples and world history, guides specialized research toward fertile fields of revaluation and correct interpretation of Romania's past, the history book being the textbook for revolutionary political and patriotic education of the young generations and for formation and development of their sense of responsibility for the nation's present and future. As Nicolae Ceausescu explains, "That is why we, the communists, honor those who laid down their lives in the past for the people's happiness and learn lessons from their struggle for the present we are creating, and in order to lay the foundations for the future, we are indoctrinating youth in the spirit of love and respect for their ancestors' labor and struggles. That is the only way Romanian youth will learn to carry on what their ancestors created and what the present generation is creating and to safeguard Romania's sovereignty and independence like the light of their eyes and to further strengthen it.

The general problems of national defense policy are analyzed in depth in the second book, which assembles texts including theoretical and practical ideas and principles basic to the nation's current military doctrine, the brilliant author of which is Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, president of socialist Romania and supreme commander of our armed forces.

As a component of the overall national and international policy, the RCP and its secretary general regard the national defense policy as a cause and task of the



entire people. This conception stems from the historical experience of the Romanian people, who had to fight for centuries on end with weapons and political skill for the unity and independence of their national state against the many invasions of the surrounding kingdoms and empires.

Today the defense policy depends upon socialist Romania's economic potential and the political-moral potential of Romanian society, which is composed of friendly social classes and categories with common aims and interests, enabling it to take measures to mobilize all material and human resources necessary to repel any aggression.

A large part of Ceausescu's theoretical work on national defense concerns defense strategy according to conditions of terrain, improvement of tactics for the various kinds of weaponry, and collaboration and cooperation of the components of the national defense system, the backbone of which is the standing army. In Ceausescu's view, "In case of war under present-day conditions not only the army but all citizens must be ready to fight in defense of national freedom, sovereignty and integrity. We feel that an anti-imperialist war or defensive war can only be a people's war, and that the victory will be won not only on the battle front but by the entire people's general effort."

Extensive texts concern the army's functions in the present stage, the concern of the party and its secretary general for its political-moral reinforcement and equipment with modern combat materiel, improvement of its military and political training, and the necessary strengthening of military discipline and order. The command corps and party activists in the army have a critical part to play in this, and since they are the framework of the Romanian armed forces, the party leadership is constantly and primarily concerned with their training and education.

The supreme commander of the armed forces devotes much space to the party's leadership over all the armed forces. Under current international conditions the principle of management of national defense by the party and state organs is of vital importance and the inalienable attribute of national sovereignty and independence.

The book includes extracts from the secretary general's work on evaluation of the international situation, which has been characterized in recent years by intensified aggressive actions on the part of the imperialist circles seriously threatening the peoples' peace and security, by intensification of the armaments race, especially nuclear, by recrudescence of the policy of force and threat of force, and by the colonial and neocolonial policy of dictation. In the face of this situation with its grave dangers to the peoples' peace and sovereignty, the RCP leadership and Nicolae Ceausescu himself are lending Romanian foreign policy a dynamic character and a direction in keeping with the most ardent aspirations of the peoples of the world by proposing specific measures to stop the armaments race and achieve disarmament, beginning with withdrawal of the weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, thermonuclear, neutronic, laser, bacterial etc.) from the army arsenals as a vitally important requirement for all mankind's progress and existence.

With this in mind Romania's foreign policy militates for military disengagement, reduction of armed forces, withdrawal of foreign troops and armaments on other

states' territories, and achievement of security and peace in Europe and the whole world. Expressing his confidence that world public opinion and the united power of the peoples play an active part in eliminating the danger of a new world war and in safeguarding world peace, President Nicolae Ceausescu appeals to the unflagging vigilance of the peoples to check the imperialist plots against the peace and existence of the nations, firmly supporting the states' right to individual and collective self-defense as long as the danger of aggressions exists, on the basis of every people's right to develop in freedom as it wishes. These efforts include the measures to strengthen friendship and collaboration with the armies of the European socialist states and of the other socialist states and to develop friendly contacts with the armies of other states, as well as the constant concern of the administrations of the party and the Romanian socialist state to keep the nation's defensive strength at an adequate level, to further improve the instruction and education of the forces in the national defense system, to equip them with perfected armament and combat materiel, and to procure the latter as far as possible from the national industrial output.

On this subject, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 that "Socialist construction is going on under the complex international conditions of the policy of force, wars and military engagements, and the persisting danger of a world war. Under these circumstances, it is socialist Romania's duty to take all measures to develop its defensive strength and to organize, instruct and equip its army so that under any circumstances it will fulfill its sacred obligation to the people to defend their revolutionary gains, independence and sovereignty."

Meanwhile Romania's armed forces resolutely support the foreign policy promoted by the party and its secretary general on behalf of understanding and cooperation among peoples for purposes of security, peace and a better and more just life for the people of our planet.

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REVIEW OF NEW BOOK ON NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 1 Jan-Feb 82, pp 152-155

[Article by Mihail E. Ionescu]

[Text] Recent years -- with the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party as the triggering point -- have seen the shaping of the new military doctrine of Romania. It has acquired substance and precise outline in the extensive effort of the party secretary general, President of the Republic and supreme commander of the armed forces Nicolae Ceausescu, who formulated its chief orientations and guidelines and also pointed out the workable ways of implementation. A large number of surveys and studies described the contents of our new military doctrine, its profound roots in the historic tradition of the Romanian people, its concordance with contemporary national and international realities. This book is part of this context. It is authored by noted military theorists and historians -- Ion Coman, colonel-general Dr. Constantin Olteanu, lieutenant-general Dr. Ilie Ceausescu, colonel Emil Burbulea, colonel Mihai Arsintescu -- who provide experts and the general public with a coherent overview of the military doctrine of socialist Romania, its contents and character, its harmonious manner as to practical implementation.

The survey is structured in three large sections and the whole of it is based on the sound foundation of party documents, of the work of Nicolae Ceausescu. The entire book is substantiated on the indisputable fact that the tackling of the cardinal issues of the defense of the country and their scientific elucidation bears the incontrovertible imprint of the innovative and bold thinking of the party secretary general, that also this inseparable facet of the socialist revolution and construction in Romania -- defense -- is covered, in all its components, in the work of Nicolae Ceausescu.

The first section of the book -- entitled "Armed Struggle of All Our People for the Defense of the Country in Its Bimillenary History" -- is an outstanding synthesis of the militant past of the Romanian people, a firm and convincing demonstration of the fact that the military doctrine of socialist Romania is an organic product of our historic development, a scientific crystallization of the purposes of the Romanian military effort made throughout history for the preservation of nationhood, of the independence and sovereignty of the country, of the integrity of the ancestral homeland. The scientific scrutiny that involves the entire chronological period recorded historically -- from 514 BC up to the period which is close to us -- precisely and rigorously selects the events and periods which pointed out that the

utilization of people's war, as the means for repelling foreign aggressions, has involved the certitude of the historical survival of our ethnic and statal individuality. The resistance of the "bravest and most righteous among Thracians" in face of the Persian invasion in 514 BC, the victory of Dromichete over Lysimachus (300 and 292 BC), the resistance of the Dacians against the Romans, that reached the apex in the days of Decebal, of the Romanians against the successive waves of migrators, the preservation of Romanian statehood through fight during the Middle Ages reveal the popular dimensions of the defensive fight waged by Romanians, the mass character of the military effort, the organic unity of the defensive struggle against invaders with the peaceful and constructive vocation of our people.

The modern era of Romania's history also forcefully points out the permanence of the defensive fight of all our people, with the 1821 and 1848 revolutions being, from this standpoint, illustrative by doctrinary formulations and eventwise evolution. Correct interpretation of our military tradition -- the authors emphasize -- led in the 19th century to unique theoretical formulations on the modalities of national defense and even to practical measures (for instance, formation and utilization of nonpermanent military units in the independence war).

The emergence and development of the working-class movement entailed in this field essential orientations, which acquired full values as a result of the activity of the Romanian Communist Party. In the context of the organicity of our historic development, the RCP advocated -- also as a result of intensive and beneficial ideological clarifications which tied it closer and closer to the meaning of national realities -- the utilization of the army as the polarizing center of all the nation in the effort to preserve the national legacy and dignity. This is a political line, which, as we learn from this book, has produced brilliant results in the years of antifascist resistance and during the revolution for social and national liberation, against fascism and imperialism in August 1944.

During the anti-Hitler war and during the immediately postwar period, the Romanian Communist Party, at the head of the progressive political parties, adopted the orientation -- in full agreement with national realities -- of "rearrangement" of the national military organism, in terms of intensifying its rallying to the overall cause of the people, to the effort for basic restructuring of the Romanian society. This orientation firmly rejected the approach -- adopted, in similar situations, in other places -- involving the "crushing" of the old army and formation on "vacant land" of a new army, structured in compliance with already tested rules or patterns.

The integration of the military factor into the dynamics of the vast Romanian socio-political and economic changes has assumed the form of materializing the concept of "democratization of the army," a unique development of options conforming with the historical tradition, the realities of the era, the spiritual structure and the collective mental attitudes existing inside the army. "The principle of the democratization of the army" -- the authors point out -- "actually was the quintessence of the military doctrinary orientation of the Romanian Communist Party after the other objective, waging the antifascist war to the end, was achieved" (p 60). Its implementation in 1945-1947 involved two paths, that were inseparably linked together and were followed on a parallel and concomitant basis: politically-ideologically winning over the army personnel for the purpose of involving it into the revolutionary process and gradually acquiring control of the leverages of the military institution. Regarding the first path, of decisive importance was the organizational

activity of the communist party in the army, formation inside the army of party organizations with quasilegal operation at the beginning, that supplemented the program of political-ideological influencing carried out by an institutionalized apparatus in 1945, "of education, culture and propaganda." Significant episodes of the period involved -- the November 1946 elections, the proclamation of the Republic in December 1947 -- highlighted the fruits of the above-mentioned doctrinary orientation, pointing out the army's full attachment to the new course of events and, no less, the positive result of a bold, unique approach, that turned down the authority and notoriety "models" in the matters involved. The Romanian military doctrinary evolution, in its specific field of application, was notably influenced, until the Ninth RCP Congress, by thegnoseological "error of confusing doctrine with ideology and the latter with military science and art" and by the consideration according to which "the own doctrinary creation would be a form of opposition to the task of 'forming the people's army', which was looming as the order of the day" (p 75). During that period -- 1948-1965 -- the basic concept of the RCP in the area of the military defense of the country "placed the emphasis on its specialized instrument, the army, the armed forces, considering that the aim, methods and modalities of defense were largely ensured and provided with the required contents on the strength of the new international integration of the country, the mutual aid pacts concluded, beginning in 1948, by Romania" (p 78). Even the term of military doctrine was abandoned, with the assessment that it was unnecessary in the context of Romania's new international integration.

The accelerated progress of the Romanian society along the road of socialism, the creation of the unified socialist economy, the marked evidence of the new physiognomy of the Romanian army necessitated, in the first half of the 1960s, the renewal of the approach to the matters of the defense of the country. It occurred in the stage triggered by the historic Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The second major section of the book -- "The Current Romanian Military Doctrine, Creation of the Romanian Communist Party, of Nicolae Ceausescu" -- discusses the basic idea of defense of the country, developed under the conditions of the new stage of building a multilaterally developed socialist society, with emphasis placed in the context on the outstanding role of the party secretary general in substantiating it. "The national military doctrine, formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu, is a new doctrine, which also appears as a synthesis and superior development .... of Romanian military thought of all times" (p 97); it has a profoundly national and scientific character. Incorporating the modalities of utilizing "the capacity of defense of the country," the national military doctrine points out the indestructible unity of the "socialist construction-defense" process, that is characteristic of present-day socialist Romania.

The authors detail, in their scientific course, the basic principles of our party and state policy in the military area. It is characterized by the fundamentally defensive, nonaggressive orientation, confirmed in the basic documents of the nation and of its vital center, the Romanian Communist Party. It excludes the denouement of capitulation, Law No 14/1972 on the Organization of the National Defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, categorically stipulating in this regard: "Prohibited are acceptance or recognition of any action of a foreign state or of any situation -- regardless of its nature, including general capitulation, occupation of the national territory -- which in peacetime or wartime would involve any prejudice



to the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Romania or which would in any way weaken its capacity of defense. Any such action of acceptance or recognition is null and void, as being contrary to the state system and supreme interests of our socialist nation."

Opposition to a foreign aggression to which Romania may be, possibly, subjected will, in accordance to our military doctrine, involve a war of all the people, the essential feature of the military function of the state being synthesized in the fundamental principle, according to which the defense of the country is the cause and action of all the nation. In this context, the army has the role of the pivot, of the chief force of shock and strategic and tactic maneuver of the system of defense, called upon to give assistance in various forms to the other components of the armed force.

Prominent in the contents of the current military doctrine are the principles regarding the leadership of national defense, it being the inalienable right of our party and state. Pointing out the unique and innovating nature of the new Romanian military doctrine, the authors stress its recuperatory value in the field of military strategy, that has become the strict competency of the national decision-making factors. The authors point out: "This means that all the levels of military art, strategy in the first place, fall under the full discretion and assessment of the supreme authority of the state, party and government, of the military bodies given the necessary competency by the state power" (p 118).

The options which make up the contents of our military doctrine practically cover all the segments utilizable in the eventuality of the outbreak of a war of all the people in case of a foreign aggression, since it is known that such a confrontation by far exceeds the framework of a "classic," "conventional" conflict, involving the multitude of elements of the country's defensive capacity. Of outstanding importance then becomes the formulation of a set of approaches that should focus, inter alia, on tactic cooperation between the various components of the system of national defense, the development of specific modalities of action for each of them, the political education of the armed forces, of all the people commensurate with the set of values characteristic of socialism and humanism in Romania. Moreover, the doctrinary set also incorporates the orientation in the area of provision of the national defensive system with technical equipment, notable in this area being the formation and development of a powerful defense industry capable of supplying the technical equipment required for the defense of the country. The authors conclude: "Hence, our military doctrine involves a set of views, a system of concepts, principles and orientations officially adopted in regard to the fundamental avenues and modalities for the operation of the military function of the state, namely that of armed defense of the socialist gains of the Romanian nation, of the country's independence and sovereignty" (p 123).

Since the doctrinary options involve decisions made against the backdrop of material, objective data which, in their concatenation, make up the military power of the state, the authors recompose, in its natural outlines, the concept of "defensive capacity of the country." The detailing of this concept, based on methodological considerations, required the authors to use the following grouping: economic potential; scientific-technical-cultural potential; demographic potential; geographic setting; political-moral potential; military potential (it is evident that in the practical process of military activity all these potentials interact, combine and blend).

The socialist profile of the Romanian economy, its uninterrupted progress decisively impact on the country's defensive capacity, the strength of socialist Romania being, first of all, its socioeconomic strength, projected in the foreground of our defense system. The scientific-technical-cultural potential justifies itself, in the authors' view, as a significant constituent of the country's defensive capacity, in light of the fact that, nowadays, every military confrontation also has become a scientific, technical and cultural competition. Preference is given to the term of "demographic potential" over that of "human potential" -- based on the reasoning stressed by the authors that the human factor penetrated all the other components of the country's defensive capacity -- and this constituent part of the above-mentioned concept belongs to the area strictly defined by the demographic science (quantity and quality of the population, territorial distribution, age and sex structure, proportion of the working population, mobility, and so forth). Also, the geographic setting may be defined as a potential, in the authors' view, because of the close link between the Romanian people and their geographic environment and, no less, because of our doctrinary orientation, according to which a defensive war will be waged only within the limits of the national territory. The contents of the political-moral potential is evidenced by the internal unity and cohesion of the Romanian society, by the firm ideological orientation, on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism, of the extensive educational activity conducted in the whole arena of public life, which fructifies and fortifies Romanian collective mentalities.

All these factors make up, in their interaction, the military potential, which, in the final analysis, defines the military strength or weakness of a state. It includes the permanent armed forces, the other fighting forces in the military defense system, their combination expressing the basic indicator of the military potential. Other indicators of this potential involve the quantity and quality of the armament and of the other military technical means, the level of training of the commands and ranks, of each fighter, the capacity of mobilization and of rapid switch from the state of peace to the state of war, the level of assimilation of modern military science, of the development of military art, and so forth.

The final major section of the book -- entitled "The National Defense System of the Socialist Republic of Romania" -- gives a synthetic description of the leadership and composition of the national defense system, the nature and orientation of the instructional-educational process, the indestructible unity of the ensemble "socialist construction-defense," the foreign military relations of the Romanian state.

The military doctrine, the national defense system of socialist Romania -- the authors point out -- perfectly dovetail with the international policy of the Romanian party and state, which is based on ensuring an international framework that guarantees the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. The foreign military alliances of Romania -- a founding country of the Warsaw Treaty -- exclude the prevalence of the use of force, inequality and inequity among participants. In this principled framework, socialist Romania strictly fulfills the obligations assumed, develops military cooperation with all socialist countries, expands military relations with the new states that have emerged in the world, has resumed and intensifies contacts with the armies of other countries, such as France, Italy, Great Britain, with Balkan countries such as Greece and Turkey, with states on other continents such as the United States, Mexico, Egypt, and other countries.

As a whole, this new book, which synthesizes the effort of Romanian military thinking in the last two decades, is an outstanding scientific work, a telling document of the will of the Romanian nation to keep its individuality, to be a master in its own country, always ready to defend its identity and ancestral patrimony, its present and future.

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CSO: 2700/44



SPECULATION IN SALE OF FARM PRODUCTS TARGET OF DECREE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Mar 83 p 3

[Council of State Decree on the sale of agricultural products by individual producers and measures to ensure that maximum market price are observed]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Members of agricultural production cooperatives and individual agricultural producers can legally sell their own products, with the exception of slaughtered meat and meat products, in markets, fairs or other places designated for such purposes. The sale of live animals in markets or fairs can take place only in specially arranged areas, observing legal provisions and hygiene and health norms.

The sale and barter of agricultural products in the places stipulated in paragraph 1 are permitted for members of agricultural production cooperatives and individual agricultural producers only on the basis of an agricultural producer certificate.

The persons specified in the present article can also sell products directly from their own farms.

Article 2--Physical persons are prohibited, by law, from purchasing agricultural and food products for the purpose of resale.

Article 3--The executive committees of the peoples councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality are obliged to set, in accordance with the law, the maximum market prices within the limits of which the producers will sell products in markets, fairs or other specified sales areas.

Producers who sell products directly from their own farms must also comply with maximum market prices.

Article 4--The maximum market prices will be established, in accordance with the law, at the level of the retail prices for the products which are being sold.

In exceptional cases, for vegetables, potatoes, fruits, and live poultry, the executive committees of the peoples councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality can set maximum market prices which are, at the most, 5 percent higher than the retail prices set by law for these products.

Article 5--The executive committees of the peoples councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality will change, in accordance with law, the maximum market prices set in accordance with Article 3, whenever this is necessary.

Article 6--The executive committees and bureaus of the peoples councils of the counties, of Bucharest Municipality, of the municipalities, of the cities, and of the communes must take the necessary measures to inform the producers and purchasers of the maximum market prices and to ensure that the prices are posted in the markets, fairs and communes.

Members of agricultural production cooperatives and individual producers must sell products with the limits of the maximum market prices.

Article 7--The sale of agricultural and food products at prices higher than the maximum market prices and the purchase of these products for the purpose of resale constitute infractions of speculation and are punishable, according to Article 295 of the Penal Code, by a prison term of from 6 months to 5 years.

The products constituting the object of the infraction are subject to confiscation under the conditions stipulated in the Penal Code.

Article 8--The sale, by members of agricultural production cooperatives and individual agricultural producers, of slaughtered meat or of meat products, constitutes a contravention and is punishable by a fine of from 500 to 3,000 lei, unless the act is committed under such conditions that, according to penal law, it is considered to be an infraction.

The products which constitute the object of the contravention stipulated in paragraph 1 are subject to confiscation.

The determination of the contravention and the application of the penalty are executed by means of a statement issued by the local officials, their representatives, the state veterinarian inspectors in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and in the veterinary health network of the peoples councils and by officers and non-commissioned officers of the militia.

An appeal can be made against the statement of the contravention and the application of the penalty within 15 days of the date of notification.

Article 9--The Committee for Peoples Councils Problems, the Ministry of Domestic Trade and the State Committee for Prices must monitor the setting of the maximum market prices, according to the law, by the executive committees of the peoples councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality, and the proper organization of markets and fairs and other sales areas, ensuring the quality of the products and the observance of hygiene and health conditions.

Also, the organs stipulated in paragraph 1, together with the organs of the militia, must monitor and ensure strict compliance with maximum market prices.

Article 10--Any legal provisions contrary to the provisions of the present decree are abrogated.

Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

CSO: 2700/158

NEW BONUSES FOR BREEDING, CARING FOR CALVES

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Mar 83 p 3

[Council of State Decree on the modification and supplementation of Council of State Decree No 395/1981 on contracting for and purchasing animals, poultry and animal products]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Article 12 of Council of State Decree No 395/1981 on contracting for and purchasing animals, poultry and animal products is amended and supplemented and will have the following content:

Article 12--In addition to production, contracting and purchasing prices, agricultural producers will benefit from the following increases in prices and bonuses:

- a) for animals delivered during the period from 1 December to 30 April, at weights of more than 400 kg live, a price increase of 0.50 lei per kg will be given;
- b) individual producers will receive a bonus of 400 lei for each calf produced in a private farm and cared for for a period of at least 6 months, contracted for the state supply, maintained for reproduction or, as the case may be, for work.

Socialist agricultural units which achieve 85 percent of the birth rate indices planned for the county will be given a bonus of 400 lei for each calf produced and cared for for a period of at least 6 months.

Some 100 lei of the bonus specified in paragraph 2 is given, for each calf, to the person taking care of the animal and 5 lei each are given to the artificial insemination technician, the head of the farm and the veterinarian or the veterinary technician of the farm.

In cases where the health and veterinary care is provided by the district doctor, this doctor receives 5 lei for each calf, as long as the total amount does not exceed the sum appropriate for a farm veterinarian.

The sum of money appropriate for the artificial insemination technician is given after the calving, if the calf is healthy.

Also, the socialist agricultural units will deposit 10 lei each, from the bonus for each calf stipulated in paragraph 2, for the establishment, in the General Directorate of Agriculture and the Food Industry, of a fund for giving awards to specialized personnel in the offices and centers for the reproduction and selection of animals and in the health and veterinary medicine system.

Socialist agricultural units which exceed the birth rate indices planned for the county are given, in addition to the bonus stipulated in paragraph 2, 100 lei each for each calf produced above these indices and cared for for a period of at least 6 months.

Also, 20 lei of the bonus stipulated in paragraph 7 are given to the person who takes care of the animal and 5 lei each are given to the artificial insemination technician, the head of the farm and the veterinarian or veterinary technician of the farm or, to the district veterinarian, in the conditions stipulated in paragraphs 4 and 5;

c) individual producers receive, in addition, a bonus of 100 lei which is given for each calf obtained from heifers, on the condition that they care for it for at least 6 months.

In addition, the socialist agricultural units receive an extra bonus of 100 lei for each healthy calf obtained from heifers. The person who took care of the heifer for a period of at least 6 months before the first covering is given 50 lei out of this amount.

The bonuses specified in the present article come from the state budget, with the exception of the bonus which is given in accordance with paragraph 1, letter B for calves contracted for the state supply.

Article II--Until the present decree goes into effect, the payment of the appropriate bonuses to socialist agricultural units and individual producers on the basis of Council of State Decree No 395/1981 and the bonus which will be given, under the conditions of the present decree, for 1983, will come from the state budget.

The Ministry of Finance, on the basis of proposals of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, will submit for approval proposals for the modification of the state budget for 1983, as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

CSO: 2700/158

DECREE ON DECLARING, TRANSFERRING, SLAUGHTERING ANIMALS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Mar 83 p 3

[Council of State Decree on declaring animals and transferring and slaughtering cattle and horses]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I--Obligations of owners to declare animals and conditions for the transfer and slaughter of cattle and horses

Article 1--Socialist agricultural units and physical persons must declare the number of cattle, horses, hogs, sheep and other animals which they have as well as any changes occurring in these numbers so that they can be listed in the agricultural register, under the conditions and terms specified by law.

Article 2--The transfer of cattle and horses among physical persons can take place only with the approval of executive committees or bureaus of the peoples councils, on the basis of certificates attesting to the ownership and health of the animals.

Article 3--The slaughter of cattle and horses belonging to physical persons is prohibited.

In exceptional circumstances, cattle and horses belonging to physical persons can be slaughtered in places other than the slaughter houses, only in the case of contagious disease, on the basis of approval given, for each individual case, by the state veterinarian inspector.

For other serious, incurable diseases or accidents which endanger the life of the animals, the slaughter of cattle and horses belonging to physical persons can take place only in the slaughter houses and slaughter centers, with the approval of the veterinarian of these units and with the advice of the state veterinarian inspector.

In situations in which the cattle and horses are in isolated areas, great distances from localities, and cannot be transported to slaughter centers or slaughter houses, they can be slaughtered, in exceptional cases, in the place where they are located, only if, because of serious diseases or accidents which

endanger their lives, the slaughtering cannot be postponed. These cases will be reported, immediately, to the veterinarian of the closest administrative district, who is obligated to go to the place without delay, in order to determine the reasons for the slaughtering and to determine if it has been carried out in the conditions specified in the present decree.

Article 4--Cattle and horses belonging to socialist units and other juridical persons can be slaughtered, in the conditions stipulated by law, within the limits set by the single national plan for socio-economic development, in the slaughter houses of the enterprises for the industrialization of meat.

Under exceptional circumstances, the slaughtering of cattle and horses belonging to the units specified in paragraph 1 can be carried out in these units only in case of contagious diseases, with the approval of the veterinarian of the unit, or, according to the case, of the state veterinarian inspector.

In the case of other serious, incurable diseases which endanger the life of the animals, the slaughtering of cattle and horses belonging to socialist units or other juridical persons can be executed only in slaughter houses and slaughter centers, with the approval of the veterinarian of these units and the concurrence of the state veterinarian inspector.

In situations in which the cattle and horses belonging to socialist units and other juridical persons are in isolated areas, great distances from localities, and cannot be transported to slaughter centers, the slaughtering can take place, in the case of serious diseases and accidents which endanger their lives, in the place where they are located, only in the conditions specified in Article 3, paragraph 4.

#### Chapter II--Responsibilities and penalties

Article 5--Violation of the provisions of the present decree involves, according to the case, the disciplinary, material, civil, contraventional, or penal responsibility of the guilty parties.

Article 6--The slaughter of cattle and horses in places other than slaughter houses, with the exception of slaughterings carried out in the conditions of Article 3 paragraph 2 and Article 4 paragraphs 2 and 4, constitutes an infraction and is punishable by a prison sentence of from 3 months to 1 year.

In cases in which the court orders that the punishment should be executed by correctional labor, this sentence will be carried out in a special work unit.

Persons sentenced for committing the infraction stipulated in paragraph 1 must also pay compensation to the state amounting to the value of the animals slaughtered, determined by the contracting prices set by law. The value of the meat confiscated, determined by the contracting price, is deducted from the compensation owed.

Article 7--Dishonest declaration, refusal to declare and failure to make a declaration, by the deadline set, of data in regard to the number of animals to be



included in the agricultural register--if the acts are not committed under such conditions that, according to penal law, they are considered to be infractions--constitute contraventions and are punishable by a fine, as follows:

- a) 500 to 1,000 lei when the act involves sheep and goats;
- b) 1,000 to 1,500 lei when the act involves hogs;
- c) 5,000 to 10,000 lei when the act involves cattle and horses.

The transfer of cattle and horses without the approval specified in Article 2 also constitutes a contravention if it is not committed in such conditions that, according to penal law, it is considered an infraction, and it is punishable by a fine of from 5,000 to 10,000 lei.

The determination and punishing of the contraventions stipulated in paragraphs 1 and 2 are carried out in accordance with the conditions of Article 23 paragraphs 2-4 of Council of State Decree No 692/1973 on the agricultural register.

Article 8--The declaration, by socialist agricultural units and other juridical and physical persons, for listing in the agricultural register, of a smaller number of cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, goats and other animals, than they actually possess, incurs, according to the law, the appropriation of the undeclared animals, without payment, by the state.

Article 9--Losses caused to the socialist agricultural units, as a result of the payment of contraventional fines levied against them and as a result of the appropriation by the state without payment, of animals not declared in the agricultural register, are charged to the managers of the units and to other physical persons at fault.

Article 10--Article 26 of Law No 41/1975 on the slaughtering of animals and any other contrary provisions are abrogated.

Incolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

CSO: 2700/158

BRIEFS

OBITUARIES OF MILITARY OFFICERS--Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 February 1983 page 3 reports the "unexpected death of Maj Gen Dr Prof Docent Alexandru Gr. Popescu, corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences, chief of the Medical Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense. One of the obituaries in the paper is signed by the personnel of Military Unit 02550 in Bucharest. In another obituary in the same issue of ROMANIA LIBERA, the officers of Military Union 02550 in Bucharest report the death of Col Vasile Steau, at the age of 53, "after a long suffering". [Editorial Report].

RELEASE OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Iosef Leon Steinbach is relieved of his position as deputy minister of light industry, in light of his retirement. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I Nov 15, 18 Mar 83 p 3]

RELEASE OF OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Emilian Rodean is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Energy. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 15, 18 Mar 83 p 3]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Mihai Marinescu is relieved of his position as first deputy chairman of the Council for Economic and Social Organization and that Comrade Ion Bucur is appointed first deputy chairman of the Council of Economic and Social Organization. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 2 Mar 83 p 2]

PEOPLES COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Petre Fluture is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 2 Mar 83 p 2]

CSO: 2700/160

COLUMNISTS IN YOUTH PAPERS DERIDE SECURITY CONCERNS

Petrovic in 'OMLADINSKE'

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 83 p 9

[Mock letter to psychiatrist by Momcilo Petrovic: "Am I Paranoid?"]

[Text] Dear Doctor, I am 24 years old, I shall soon graduate from the university and enter an occupation that I like, people tell me that I am handsome, I do well with girls, I live in a harmonious family; in a word, to an outsider, I am a happy person. No one dreams what a hell there is in my soul. A few days ago, doctor, I broke up with the girl who has been--and still is--everything in my life.

The whole thing began when the superior court in Sremska Mitrovica sentenced Ranka Cicak, the Belgrade correspondent of VJESNIK, to 2 1/2 years in prison for "hostile propaganda" and "harming the reputation" of the country. Certain publications have already written on this subject, so I would not repeat here her words by which the country's reputation was damaged; the words are not relevant to my case anyway. What caused my break-up with this girl, actually, is the fact that Ranka Cicak damaged the country's reputation in conversation initiated by her neighbors on orders from the State Security Service (I do not know if that is the exact name of the service in question, perhaps the republics and autonomous provinces each have their own, but that is not relevant to my case either). Ranka Cicak was drinking coffee with her neighbors every day, and then one day they told her how coffee was becoming more and more difficult to find, and so she seems to have said what she had been sentenced for. To be sure, some people say that she did not actually say what she is said to have said, but I think that that is irrelevant both to my case and to her case, because I know what she was thinking when her neighbors told her that coffee was becoming more and more difficult to find these days, and that is also an act of besmirching the homeland's reputation, so I will not refer again to her 2 1/2 years of prison.

Not to go on too long, doctor, I think that the girl that I have loved--and that I still love--has been assigned by the State Security Service of Serbia less the autonomous provinces to test my political suitability and affection for Yugoslavia. I broke up with her not because I think that she accepted the assignment (I think that every citizen has an obligation to respond to

such a request for assistance), but how am I to know, doctor, that she is not only feigning affection for me? I have read that such services abroad have instructors in acting. Just do not tell me, please, that you cannot help me. I know myself that it would be best to address myself to the head of the State Security Service and ask him nicely, but how?

Once I saw my girl with a dubious character wearing a coat with collar up and hat down on the forehead. Only now do I see why she was confused when I asked her who it was. I have to admit to you, doctor, that I am a little frightened as well. One she suggested visiting a girlfriend of hers in Dedinje [part of Belgrade where many ranking officials reside]. I answered, "What do you mean, Dedinje! Let's go to my place, my folks aren't at home." Now I am afraid that someone may wrongly interpret that remark. You know, doctor, 2 1/2 years--that is no joke. A month ago, I used the front page of POLITIKA to wrap a pair of her shoes that she was bringing to the shoemaker. And how many times I have turned off the television set just before the evening news came on.

I told her that we are breaking up because I have fallen for another girl, but she keeps on calling me and crying. In the beginning, I did not want to hear about her, but later I thought that it might be better not to resist. I just stay very careful how I behave, although that is not pleasant at all. Last time, I was a half hour late, but I explained to her that I was standing in line to buy a copy of KOMUNIST. When she asked me why I needed KOMUNIST, I kept silent. Just in case. In the Vozdovac bus, when a young man was commenting on the case of the State Security Service chief in Smederovo who rode a helicopter to a boxing match, I told him in front of her that it was not nice to talk that way. I even told him, "Zip your lip!" he had punched me, she asked me why I had butted in. I told her that people should not talk about SDBers [acronym for State Security Service] that way. When she gave me a strong look, I kept silent again.

Doctor, I do not know what to do or how long this will last. What is even worse, I have begun to suspect my mother. Maybe this is paranoia, but I now keep quiet when she comments on prices at the marketplace. Sometimes--though such moments are rare--not everything looks black to me: When I recall that the counterrevolution in Kosovo province surprised everybody, including the State Security Service, I think that not even they are in a position to follow and test everybody, so maybe I am suffering in vain. But when I remember Ranka Cicak, my heart tightens.

I do not know, doctor, what to think.

I do not know.

Anonymous in 'MLADOST'

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 83 p 6

[Commentary signed Enemy. "How To Recognize the Enemy"]

We live in difficult times. We are pressed in from all sides, the enemy has wormed his way into our ranks. Take a look at these young people" these wide

smiles, this freshness, warm glances, open faces. They are happy, satisfied, and smart. These days? But they cannot deceive us, we know that trick, this consciously thought-out, practiced, indoctrinated optimism. We know where that comes from, who trains such young people and sneaks them in to spread limitless optimism, false hope, and dubious consolation.

But do you know that? No? Maybe? Is your class consciousness asleep? You are sleeping alongside eternally vigilant enemies! No more lullabies, comrades! We are heading for a decisive battle: to recognize the enemy always and everywhere. Accordingly, we shall provide you with infallible guidelines by which to fulfill your patriotic duty. The enemy is easy to recognize, actually, even easier than that...

Here, then, is that dark, cunning, two-faced portrait of the enemy: he is usually young, but he may be old; he wears a beard, unless he is clean-shaven; he often wears faded jeans and comfortable sweaters, but sometimes he dresses elegantly; he is constantly sitting in coffeehouses, drinking and gossiping about the authorities, but on the other hand he is a teetotaler, sitting at home and playing with his children. The enemy reads books, newspapers, and magazines, goes to public forums and watches dubious performances, yet at the same time he is illiterate, he plays lotto, he is seen in lines for coffee, detergent, and the concert by Miroslav Ilic. He has been seen strolling along Terazije, Ilica, Miklosiceva highway, Bascarsija, seemingly relaxed and sunning himself on Sveti Stefan, in Biarritz, Saint Tropez, and Ibiza. He sometimes watches the educational television program, nor does he turn off the set when "Kino-oko" is on, or "Friday at 10," or the "Folk Parade." He obeys his elders, gives them his place in the bus, runs away from school, cheats on examinations. The enemy is usually blond but can be black-haired, and there are many who are brown-haired. The most dangerous are the hairy, long-haired kind, but we should also give a wide berth to bald ones and especially clean-shaven ones. He hides behind spectacles, mustaches of various kinds, he wears bracelets and rings, quartz watches, he wears woolen caps, berets, and hats. The enemy likes women, men, and small children and weak elderly women are also the object of his perverted passions. The enemy smokes, takes drugs, participates in athletics, does yoga exercises, uses medicines from abroad, drinks smuggled coffee, and shaves with Italian blades.

So everything is clear to you now. After such detailed guidelines, failure is impossible. You just need to organize yourselves well, set up groups for shadowing people in schools, universities, organizations of associated labor, local associations; arrange for reciprocal reporting and intelligence gatherings. Above all, you need to cultivate mistrust and suspicion: in unknown persons, in comrades, friends, wives, children--above all, in yourself. Remember: A person is his own greatest enemy.

Do not hesitate! And do not forget: "The more enemies there are the stronger and more unified we become.

My eyes are following you.

CSO: 2800

END